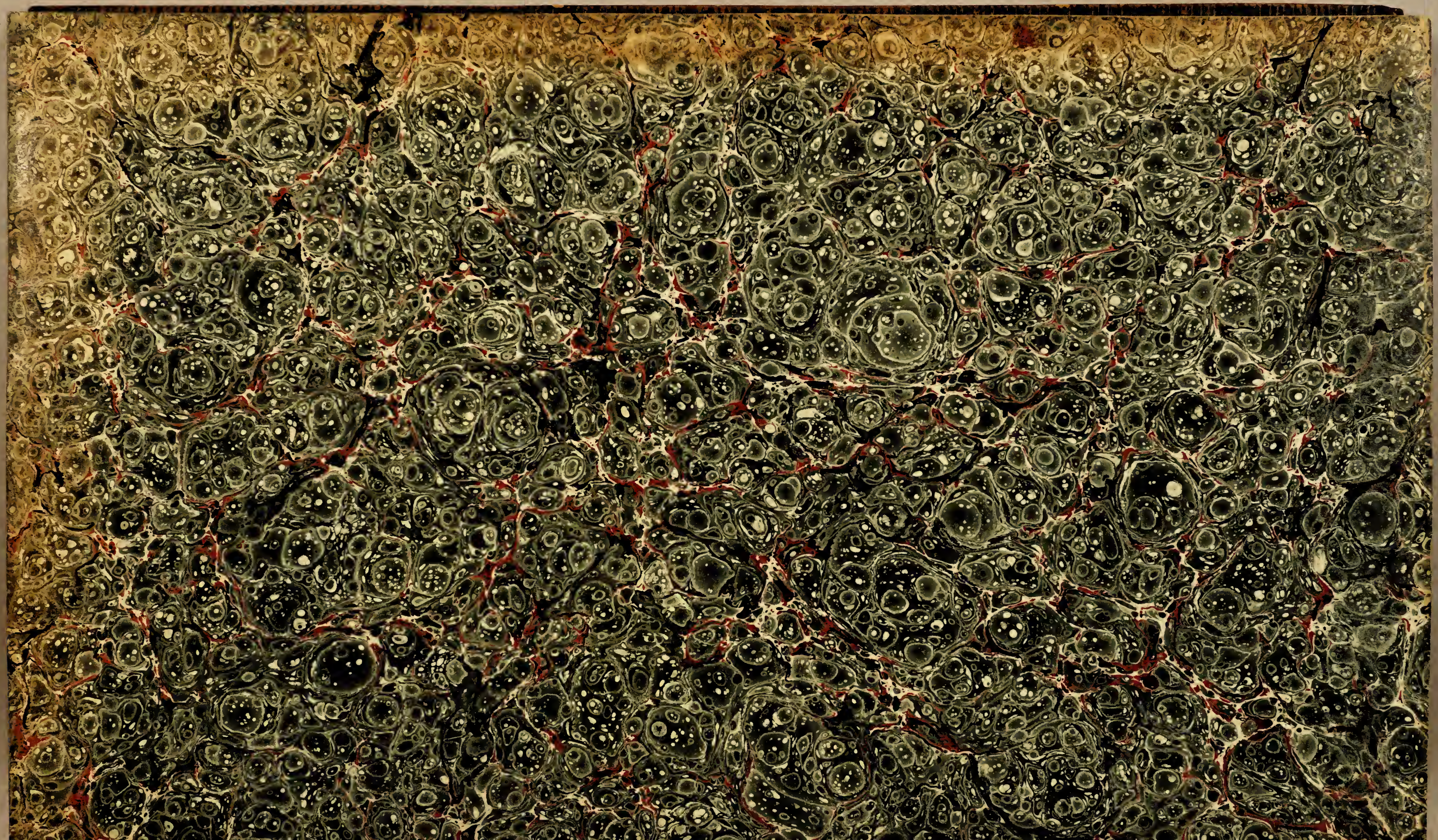
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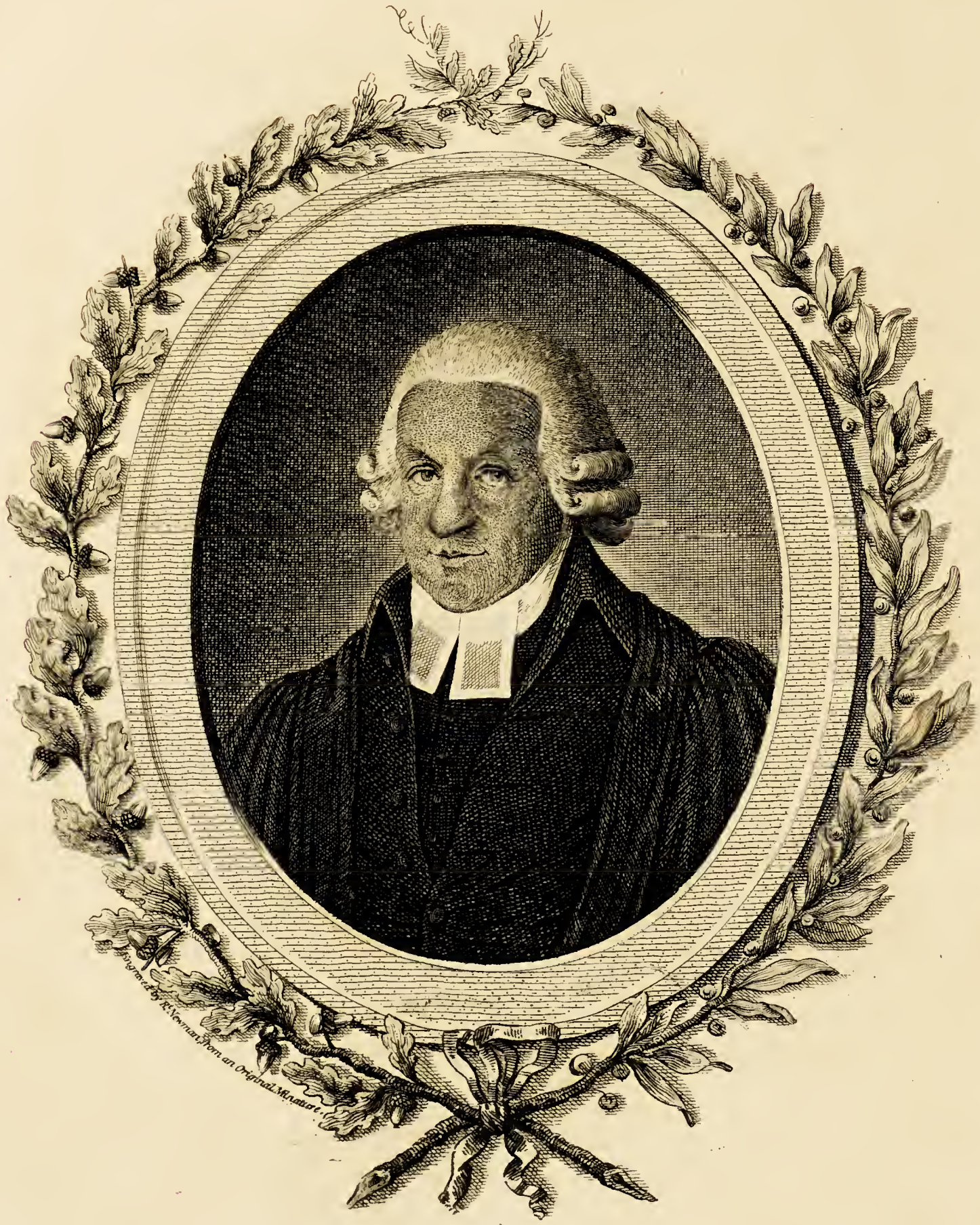


John Carter Brown.



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Joshua Toulmin, D. D.

THE

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OR,

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

FROM THE

DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.

TO THE

ACT of TOLERATION in the Reign of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, in the Year 1688.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

Their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines.

VOLUME V.

WITH AN INDEX TO THE FIVE VOLUMES.

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

By JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Author.

This know alſo, that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come.

2 Tim. iii. 1.

They ſhall put you out of the Synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you will think that he doeth God ſervice.

John xvi. 2.

BATH, PRINTED BY R. CRUTTWELL;

AND SOLD BY

C. DILLY, POULTRY; AND J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.

1797.

BPJ

THE

EDITOR's ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS edition of Mr. NEAL's "Hiſtory of the Puritans," after many interruptions, being at length completed, and the laſt volume being now preſented to the Publick, the Editor embraces this occaſion to make his acknowledgments to the Gentlemen who have aſſiſted and encouraged his deſign. He feels his obligations to thoſe who by their names and ſubſcriptions have patroniſed it; and he is much indebted to ſome who, by the communication of books and manuſcripts, have aided the execution of it. Situated, as he is, at a great diſtance from the metropolis, and the libraries there open to the ſtudious, he ſees not how he could have enjoyed the means of examining Mr. *Neal*'s authorities, in any extenſive degree, and of aſcertaining the accuracy of the ſtatements by an inſpection of the writers of the laſt century, had not his GRACE the DUKE of GRAFTON moſt handſomely offered, and moſt readily ſupplied, a great number of books neceſſary to that purpoſe, from his large and valuable libraries.

Some books of great authority were obligingly handed to him by *Henry Waymouth*, eſq; of Exeter. His

thanks

thanks are alſo due to the Rev. *Joſiah Thompſon*, of Clapham, and to *Edmund Calamy*, eſq. To the former, for the free uſe of his *manuſcript collections*, relative to the Hiſtory of the *Diſſenting Churches*; and to the latter, for the opportunity of peruſing a *manuſcript* of his worthy and learned anceſtor, Dr. *Edmund Calamy*, intitled, "An Hiſtorical Account of my "own Life, with ſome reflections on the times I have "lived in." He has been likewiſe much indebted to a reſpectable member of the ſociety of *Quakers*, Mr. *Morris Birkbeck*, of Wanborough, Surry, for his judicious remarks on Mr. *Neal*, and for furniſhing him with *Gough*'s valuable Hiſtory of that people.

While the Editor makes his ſincere and grateful acknowledgments to theſe Gentlemen, and to all who have favoured his undertaking with their approbation and aſſiſtance; he begs leave to ſolicit their further encouragement and aid; and any communications from others, that can contribute to the accuracy or completion of the work which he has before announced, and which he ſtill has in contemplation, namely, "An Hiſtory of the *Proteſtant* "*Diſſenters*, and of the Progreſs of FREE ENQUIRY "and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY from the REVOLUTION "to the preſent Times." He cannot aſcertain to what extent this work will reach; but he will aim to compriſe the hiſtorical, literary, and biographical information, it will include, in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible:

poſſible: and he propoſes, leſt life and health ſhould not be enjoyed to finiſh it, to bring it forward from the preſs in ſuch detached parts as will correſpond to the periods into which, he apprehends, it will naturally divide itſelf, ſo that each part may form a complete hiſtorical ſurvey of the ſubjects it treats of, down to the time at which it cloſes.

Mr. *Neal*'s Hiſtory being voluminous, though as an original work and a book of authority it will retain its value, the Editor, with pleaſure, informs his Readers, that his worthy and much-eſteemed friend the Rev. *Joſeph Corniſh*, of Colyton, Devon, is preparing for the preſs, a new, corrected, and much-improved edition of his "Brief and Impartial "Hiſtory of the PURITANS," in 12mo, which will be peculiarly adapted for the uſe of youth, and of thoſe who have not leiſure to go through Mr. *Neal*'s larger work, and to aſſiſt the recollection of thoſe who are acquainted with it.

TAUNTON,
Auguſt 11, 1796.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

Mr. Neale's Head, to face the Title - - - vol. I.
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ERRATA.

Vol. I. Memoirs of Neale, p. 33 note, l. 16, for *George* read *Grantham*.
Vol. II. p. 290, l. 14 of note, for *Penzano*, read *Penzani*.

ERRATA IN THE NOTES OF VOL. V.

Page 4, line 19, for *mere*, read *more*.
30, l. 2, for *Slatter*, read *Slater*.
45, l. 4. for *Miniſters*, read *Miniſter*.
101, l. 18, after "once for" read "a"

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N.

Newcome Thomas, D. D. Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Lord Primate of Ireland
Norgate Thomas, eſq; *Hackney*
Nunnal Mr. R. *Oundle, Northamptonſhire*

P.

Palmer Rev. Samuel, *Hackney*
Palmer Mr. A. jun. *Briſtol*
Peacock Mr. Thomas, *Holborn, London*
Phillips Rev. Maurice, *Weldon*
Plummer Thomas, eſq; *Camberwell*
Pope Rev. John, *Mancheſter*
Porter Rev. Thomas, *Plymouth*

R.

Rees Rev. Abraham, D. D. *Hackney*
Relph Miſs, *Woodford, Eſſex*
Reynell Rev. Mr. Prebendary of *Wincheſter*
Reynolds Richard, eſq; *Paxton, Herts*
Roach Mr. J. *Briſtol*
Robinſon Mr. Anthony, *London*
Rogers Mrs. Mary, *London*
Rowe Rev. John, *Shrewſbury*
Ruſſell George, eſq; *Birmingham*
Ruſſell John Banger, attorney, *Beaminſter*
Rutt Mr. *London*

S.

Sale Mr. Thos. *Chowbent*, near *Mancheſter*
Sampſon Mr. *Kingsford, Canterbury*
Sandby Dr.
Scott Rev. R. *Portſmouth*
Simpſon Mr. John, *Leadenhall-ſtreet, London*
Smith H. eſq; *London*
Stedman Rev. Thomas, *Shrewſbury*
Stone William, eſq; *Rutland-Place, London*
Sweet David, eſq; *Gittiſham* near *Honiton*
Symonds Rev. N. T. Delahey, *Taunton*.

T.

Tayler Rev. Thomas, *Clapham*
Tayler Mr. James, *New College, Hackney*
Taylor Mr. Henry, *Taunton*
Taylor Mr. David, *Little-Britain*
Thompſon Rev. Joſiah, *Clapham*
Thompſon Mr. Iſaac
Tingcombe John, eſq; *Plymouth*
Touchet Mr. James, merchant, *Mancheſter*
Tremlett Mr. Anthony, merchant, *Exeter*
Turner Rev. Daniel, *Abingdon*

V.

Valentine Mr. Peter, (deceaſed) *Chowbent*, near *Mancheſter*

W.

Watkins —, L.L. D. *London*
Watſon Rev. Thomas, *Whitby*
Waymouth Henry, eſq; *Exeter*
Wellbeloved Rev. Charles, *York*
Wiche Mr. George, *London*
Wiche Rev. John, (deceaſed) *Maidſtone*, 3 copies
Willis Mr. William, *Beckington*
Wilſon, Spence, and Mawman, Meſſrs. *York*, 6 copies
Woolmer Mr. bookſeller, *Exeter*
Woodhull Mr. *Berkeley-ſquare*

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS.

CHAP. I.*

From the Death of King CHARLES II. *to King* JAMES II.*'s Declaration for* Liberty *of* Conſcience.

1685.

WHEN the news of king *Charles*'s deceaſe was ſpread over the city, a penſive ſadneſs was viſible in moſt countenances for the fate of the kingdom.† His brother *James*, who ſucceeded him, told the privy council at his firſt meeting them, that "*as he would never depart from any* "*branch of the prerogative, ſo he would not invade any man's*

* In the Author's edition this is chap. XI. of the 4th volume.

† Bp. *Burnet* ſays, that the proclamation of the king "was a heavy ſolem- "nity: few tears were ſhed for the former, nor were there any ſhouts of joy "for the preſent king." It appears that the biſhop, who was then abroad, was miſinformed in this matter: for Dr. *Calamy*, who heard the king proclaimed, aſſures us, that his heart ached within him at the acclamations made upon the occaſion; which, as far as he could obſerve, were very general: though he never ſaw ſo univerſal a concern as was viſible in all men's countenances at that time: for great numbers had very terrifying apprehenſions of what was to be expected. The doctor obſerves, that it however very ſenſibly diſcovered the changeableneſs of this world, that king *James* ſhould ſo quietly ſucceed his brother without any thing like a diſpute or conteſt; when, but five years before, a majority of three houſes of commons were ſo bent upon excluding him, that nothing could ſatisfy them, if this were not compaſſed. Calamy's Hiſtorical Account of his own Life, vol. i. p. 95. MSS. ED.

"*property, but would preſerve the government as by law eſta-*
"*bliſhed in church and ſtate.*"* Which gratified the clergy ſo much, that the pulpits throughout England reſounded with thankſgivings; and a numerous ſet of addreſſes flattered his majeſty in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, with aſſurances of unſhaken *loyalty* and *obedience*, *without limitation or reſerve*. Among others was the humble addreſs of the univerſity of Oxford; in which, after expreſſing their ſorrow for the death of the late king, they add,† that they *can never ſwerve from the principles of their inſtitution, and their religion by law eſtabliſhed, which indiſpenſably binds them to bear faith and true obedience to their ſovereign, without any* LIMITATION *or* RESTRICTION, *and that no conſideration whatſoever ſhould ſhake their loyalty and allegiance.* And the univerſity of Cambridge add, that *loyalty* [or unlimited obedience] *is a duty flowing from the very principle of their religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up, as true and ſteady ſubjects as the world can ſhew, as well in doctrine as practice, from which they can never depart.* The *quakers'* addreſs was more ſimple and honeſt;‡ "We are come (ſay they),§ to teſtify our ſor-
"row for the death of our good friend CHARLES, and our
"joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou
"art not of the perſuaſion of the church of England, no more
"than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the ſame
"liberty, which thou alloweſt thyſelf; which doing, we wiſh
"thee all manner of happineſs."‖ The

* "This ſpeech," biſhop *Burnet* adds, "was magnified as a ſecurity far
"greater than any that laws could give." The common phraſe was, We have now *the word of a King, and a word never yet broken.* Of this Dr. *Calamy* gives a confirmation on the authority of a perſon of character and worth, who heard Dr. *Sharp*, afterwards archbiſhop of York, as he was preaching at St. Lawrence Jewry at the time, when king *James* gave this aſſurance, break out into language to this effect: "As to our religion, we
"have the word of the king, which (with reverence be it ſpoken) is as ſacred
"as my text." This high flight was much noticed then, and often recollected afterwards. The doctor had cauſe to reflect on it with regret: when he was, for preaching againſt popery at his own pariſh church of St. Giles, the *firſt* of the clergy that fell under the king's diſpleaſure, and felt the weight and preſſure of his arbitrary power. Hiſtorical Account, p. 96. Burnet, p. 620. ED.

† Gazette, No. 2018. ‡ Sewel, p. 594. § Eachard, p. 1051.

‖ Mr. *Neal* refers, as one authority for giving this addreſs of the quakers, to *Sewel*; but it is not to be found there. A modern hiſtorian, who cenſures it

The king began his reign with a frank and open profeſſion of his religion; for the firſt Sunday after his acceſſion, he went publickly to maſs, and obliged father *Huddleſton*, who attended his brother in his laſt hours, to declare to the world that he died a *roman catholic*. His majeſty acted the part of an abſolute ſovereign from the very firſt, and though he had declared he would invade no man's property, yet he iſſued out a proclamation for collecting the duties of *tonnage* and *poundage*, *&c.* which were given to the late king only for life; and in his letter to the *Scots* parliament, which met March 28, he ſays, "*I am reſolved to maintain my power in its greateſt luſtre, that I may be better able to defend your religion againſt fanatics.*"

Before the king had been two months on his throne, he diſcovered ſevere reſentments againſt the *enemies of his religion, and of his ſucceſſion to the crown.** Dr. *Oates* was brought out of priſon, and tried for *perjury* in the affair of the popiſh plot, for which he was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory ſeveral times, to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn; which was exerciſed with a ſeverity unknown to the Engliſh nation.† And *Dangerfield*, who

it for the "uncouthneſs and blunt familiarity of expreſſion," calls it "a "fictitious addreſs;" the members of this ſociety, he obſerves, "were not "in the cuſtom of paying complimentary addreſſes to any man:" if the ſufferings of their friends impelled them to apply to their ſuperiors for relief, "their addreſſes, though expreſſed in their plain manner, were com- "prized in reſpectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremo- "nious, but not uncivil." There is no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addreſſers on the acceſſion of *James*. Their firſt application to him was to recommend their ſuffering friends to his clemency. At the death of *Charles*, notwithſtanding that petition upon petition had been preſented to him for relief, one thouſand and five hundred of this ſociety were in priſon on various proſecutions. "So that a people paying a ſtrict "regard to truth could hardly term him their GOOD FRIEND." The above addreſs was firſt publiſhed by *Eachard*, from whom it ſhould ſeem Mr. *Neal* took it, truſting probably to the exactneſs of *his* reference; if he did quote *Sewel* for it. *Hume* and others have ſince publiſhed it. Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. iii. p. 160, 61. ED.

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 29, Edin. edition.

† *Oates* was whipped a ſecond time, while his back was moſt miſerably ſwelled with his firſt whipping, and looked as if it had been flead. He was a man of undaunted reſolution, and endured what would have killed a

who had invented the *meal-tub plot*, for which he declared he had received money from the duke of York, was indicted for a libel, and was fined five hundred pounds. He was alſo ſentenced to be pilloried, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and in his return home was murdered in the coach by one *Frances* a barriſter at law, who was afterwards hanged for it. The *whigs*, who went to court to pay their duty to the king, were received but coldly; ſome were reproached, and others denied acceſs, eſpecially thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the *bill of excluſion*.* In the election

great many others. He was, in his religious profeſſion, a mere *Proteus*, but appears to have been uniformly capable of villainy. His firſt education was at Merchant-Taylor's ſchool; from whence he removed to Cambridge. When he left that univerſity he gained orders in the church of England, and after having officiated for a time as curate to his father, he held a vicarage firſt in Kent and then in Suſſex. But previouſly to this, he was, in his youth, a member of a *baptiſt* church in Virginia-ſtreet, Ratcliffe-Highway. In 1677 he reconciled himſelf to the church of Rome, and is reported to have entered into the ſociety of *Jeſuits*. After having left the whole body of *diſſenters* for *thirty* years, he applied to be again admitted into the communion of the *baptiſts*, having firſt returned to the church of England, and continued in it about *ſixteen years*. The *baptiſts*, through a prudent jealouſy of him, ſpent almoſt *three* years in trial of his ſincerity, before they received him again: ſo that he complained it "was keeping "him on the rack; it was worſe than death in his circumſtances to be ſo "long delayed." He was reſtored to their communion in 1698 or 1699, but in leſs than a year was again excluded as a *diſorderly* perſon and a *hypocrite*. He then became a conformiſt again. "He was a man of ſome "cunning," ſays Granger, "mere effrontery, and the moſt conſummate falſehood." At one time he was a frequent auditor of Mr. *Alſop* at Weſtminſter, after the revolution: and moved for leave to come to the Lord's table, but was refuſed on account of his character. *Croſby* has detailed a long ſtory of a villainous tranſaction, to ruin a gentleman, to which he was inſtigated by the ſpirit of revenge. Dr. *Calamy* ſays, "that he was but a "very ſorry foul-mouthed wretch, I myſelf can atteſt from what I once "heard from him, when I was in his company." The parliament after the revolution, left him under a brand, and incapacitated him for being a witneſs in future. But a penſion of 400l. a year was given him by king *William*. "The æra of *Oates*'s plot," remarks Mr. *Granger*, "was the grand æra of "whig and tory." Whatever infamy reſts upon his name, he was, obſerves Dr. *Calamy*, the inſtrument of providence of good to this nation by awakening it out of ſleep, and giving a turn to the national affairs after a lethargy of ſome years. Calamy's Hiſtor. Account of his own life, vol. i. p. 98, 99. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 201, 349; and Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. iii. p. 166—182. Ed.

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 12, 13, Edin. edition.

of

of a new parliament, all methods of corruption and violence were uſed to get ſuch members returned as might be ſupple to the king's arbitrary deſigns.* When the houſes met, May 22, the king repeated what he had declared in council, that *he would preſerve the government in church and ſtate as by law eſtabliſhed.* Which, *Rapin* ſays, he never intended; for he inſinuated in his ſpeech, that he would not depend on the precarious aids of parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not uſe him well.† But the parliament unanimouſly ſettled all the revenues of his late majeſty upon the king for life, which amounted to more than *two millions a year;*‡ and preſented an addreſs May 27, to deſire him to iſſue forth his royal proclamation, to cauſe the *penal laws to be put in execution againſt diſſenters from the church of England.*

This brought down the ſtorm, and revived the perſecution, which had ſlackened a little upon the late king's death. His majeſty was now encouraged to purſue his brother's meaſures. The *tories*, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratified with full licence to diſtreſs the *diſſenters*, who were to be ſacrificed over again to a bigotted clergy, and an incenſed king, zealous for their deſtruction, (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) in order to unite and increaſe the ſtrength of popery, which he favoured without reſerve. Upon this, all meeting-houſes of proteſtant diſſenters were ſhut up, the old trade of *informing* revived and flouriſhed; the *ſpiritual courts* were crouded with buſineſs; private conventicles were diſturbed in all parts of the city and country. If they ſurprized the miniſter, he was pulled out of his pulpit by conſtables or ſoldiers, and, together with his people, carried before a *con-*

* Dr. *Grey* quotes here *Eachard* and *Carte*, to prove that the new parliament conſiſted of as many worthy and great, rich and wiſe men, as ever ſat in the houſe. Ed. † Gazette, No. 2036.

‡ "The commons, charmed with theſe promiſes, and bigotted as much to "their principles of government as the king was to his religion, in about "two hours voted him ſuch an immenſe revenue for life, as enabled him to "maintain a fleet and army without the aid of parliament, and conſequently "to ſubdue thoſe who ſhould dare to oppoſe his will. In this manner, and "without any further ceremony, did this houſe of commons deliver up the "liberties of the nation to a popiſh arbitrary prince." Warner's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 631. Ed.

ſiding

ſiding juſtice of peace, who obliged them to pay their fines, or dragged them to priſon. If the miniſter eſcaped, they ranſacked the houſe from top to bottom; tore down hangings, broke open chambers and cloſets; entered the rooms of thoſe who were ſick; and offered all kinds of rudeneſs and incivilities to the family, though they met with no manner of oppoſition or reſiſtance. Shopkeepers were ſeparated from their trades and buſineſs; and ſometimes wives from their huſbands and children; ſeveral families were obliged to remove to diſtant places, to avoid the direful effects of an *excommunication* from the *commons;* and great ſums of money were levied as forfeitures, which had been earned by honeſt labour. Diſſenting miniſters could neither travel the road, nor appear in publick but in diſguiſe; nay, they were afraid to be ſeen in the houſes of their friends, purſuivants from the *ſpiritual courts* being always abroad upon the watch.

One of the firſt who came into trouble was the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who was committed to the King's-bench priſon February 28, for ſome exceptionable paſſages in his paraphraſe on the *new teſtament*, reflecting on the order of *dioceſan biſhops*, and the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in ſome poſſible caſes. The paſſages were in his paraphraſe on Matth. v. 19. Mark ix. 39. Mark xi. 31. Mark xii. 38, 39, 40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. They were collected by ſir *Roger l' Eſtrange;* and a certain eminent clergyman, reported to be Dr. *Sh——ck*, put into the hands of his enemies, ſome accuſations from Rom. xiii. that might touch his life, but no uſe was made of them. Mr. *Baxter* being ill, moved by his council for time; but *Jefferies* ſaid, he would not give him a minute's time to ſave his life. *Yonder ſtands* Oates *in the pillory*, (ſays he) *and if Mr.* Baxter *ſtood on the other ſide, I would ſay, two of the greateſt rogues in England ſtood there.* He was brought to his trial May 30, but the chief juſtice would not admit his council to plead for their client. When Mr. *Baxter* offered to ſpeak for himſelf, *Jefferies* called him a ſnivelling, canting *preſbyterian*, and ſaid, "*Richard*, *Ri-*
"*chard*, don't thou think we will hear thee poiſon the court.
"*Richard*, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave; thou
"haſt written books enough to load a cart, every one as full
"of ſedition, I might ſay of treaſon, as an egg is full of meat:

"haſt

" hadſt thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty " years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a " preacher of the goſpel of peace; as thou haſt one foot in " the grave 'tis time for thee to begin to think what ac- " count thou intendeſt to give; but leave thee to thyſelf, and " I ſee thou wilt go on as thou haſt begun, but by the grace " of God, I will look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty " party, and I ſee a great many of the brotherhood in cor- " ners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty don, " and a doctor of the party [doctor *Bates*] at your elbow, " but by the grace of Almighty God, I will cruſh you all." The *chief juſtice* having directed the jury, they found him guilty, without going from the bar, and fined him five hundred marks, to lay in priſon till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for ſeven years. Mr. *Baxter* continued in priſon* about two years, and when the court changed its meaſures, his fine was remitted, and he was releaſed.

The

* Dr. *Grey* has given us, with apparent approbation, what he calls a *characteriſtical Epitaph*, drawn up for Mr. *Baxter* by the Rev. *Thomas Long*, prebendary of Exeter. It ſhews what different colours a character can receive according to the diſpoſitions of thoſe who draw the picture; and how obnoxious Mr. *Baxter* was to ſome, whoſe calumnies and cenſure the reader perhaps will think was true praiſe. It runs thus: " Hic jacet *Richardus* " *Baxter*, theologus armatus, loiolita reformatus, hereſiarcha ærianus, ſchiſ- " maticorum anteſignanus; cujus pruritus diſputandi* peperit, ſcriptandi " cacoëthes nutrivit, prædicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit ECCLESIÆ " SCABIEM. Qui diſſentit ab iis, quibuſcum conſentit maximó: tum ſibi, " cum aliis nonconformis præteritis, præſentibus et futuris: regum & epiſ- " coporum juratus hoſtis: ipſumq; rebellium ſolemne fœdus. Qui natus erat " per ſeptuaginta annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandas regni reſpub- " licas, et ad bis perdendam eccleſiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen excidit " auſis. Deo gratias." Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 281, note. ED.

* " Theſe words," ſays the author of the article, BAXTER, in the Biographia Britannica, " are an alluſion to ſir Henry Wotton's monumental Inſcription in " Eton chapel, *Hic jacet hujus ſententiæ primus author, diſputandi pruritus eccleſia-* " *rum ſcabies :*" i. e. " Here lies the firſt author of this opinon; the itch of diſpu- " ting is the leproſy of the churches." This writer has given the above epitaph in Engliſh, thus: " Here lies *Richard Baxter*, a militant divine, a reformed Jeſuit, a " brazen hereſiarch, and the chief of ſchiſmatics, whoſe itch of diſputing begat, " whoſe humour of writing nouriſhed, and whoſe intemperate zeal in preaching " brought to its utmoſt height, the leproſy of the church; who diſſented from " thoſe with whom he moſt agreed: from himſelf, as well as all other noncon- " formiſts, paſt, preſent, and to come; the ſworn enemy of kings and biſhops, and " in himſelf the very bond of rebels; who was born, through ſeventy years and " eighty books, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the " ruin

The rebellion of the duke of Monmouth furniſhed the court with a plauſible handle to carry the proſecution of the *whigs* and *diſſenters* to a further extremity. There was a conſiderable number of Engliſh fugitives in Holland at this time, ſome on political accounts, and others on the ſcore of religion. The king, being apprehenſive of danger from thence, obliged the prince of Orange to diſmiſs the duke of Monmouth from his court, and to break all thoſe officers who had waited upon him, and who were in his ſervice; this precipitated the counſels of the malecontents, and made them reſolve upon a raſh and ill-concerted invaſion, which proved their ruin. The earl of Argyle, imagining all the *ſcots* preſbyterians would revolt, ſailed to the north of Scotland with a very ſmall force, and was defeated with the effuſion of very little blood, before the *declaration** which he brought with him could have any effect. After him the duke of Monmouth, with the like precipitate raſhneſs, landed June 11 with an inconſiderable force at Lyme in Dorſetſhire; and though he was joined by great numbers in the Weſt country, he was defeated by the king's forces, made priſoner, and executed on Tower-hill; as was the earl of Argyle at Edinburgh.

Though the body of the diſſenters were not concerned in either of theſe invaſions, they ſuffered conſiderably on this occaſion. Great numbers of their chief merchants and tradeſmen in the city, being taken up by warrants, and ſecured in gaols, and in the publick halls; as were many country whig gentlemen, in York caſtle, Hull, and the priſons in all parts of England, which had this good effect, that it kept them out

* A full view of the aſſertions and purport of the duke of Monmouth's manifeſto is given in my Hiſtory of the Town of Taunton, p. 133—135. It was ſecretly printed in a private houſe hired for that purpoſe at Lambeth by *W. C.* a man of good ſenſe and ſpirit, and a ſtationer in Pater-noſter-row; who imported the paper. His aſſiſtant at the preſs was apprehended and ſuffered: he himſelf eſcaped into Holland, and abſconded in Germany, 'till he came over with the prince of Orange, who, when he was ſettled on the throne, appointed him his ſtationer. *William Diſney*, eſq; was tried by a ſpecial commiſſion upon an indictment of high treaſon, for printing and publiſhing this declaration, and was convicted, and ſentenced to be drawn, hanged and quartered. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 403, 4. ED.

"ruin of the church of England: in the endeavour of which mighty miſchiefs he "fell ſhort. For which thanks be to God." Biogr. Britan. vol. ii. p. 18, ſecond edition. ED.

of

of harm's way, while many of their friends were ruined by ioining the duke; ſome from a perſuaſion that the late king was married to his mother; and others in hopes of a deliverance from popery and arbitrary power.

The king, elated with ſucceſs, reſolved to let both *whigs* and *diſſenters* feel the weight of the arm of a conqueror: his army lived upon free-quarters in the *weſt*, and treated all who were ſuppoſed to be diſaffected, with great rudeneſs and violence.* Some days after *Monmouth*'s defeat, colonel *Kirk* ordered ſeveral of the priſoners to be hung up at Taunton, without any trial or form of law, while he and his company were dancing, revelling, and drinking healths at a neighbouring window, with a variety of muſic, from whence they beheld, with a more than brutiſh triumph, the dreadful ſpectacle. The gaols being full of priſoners, the king appointed lord chief juſtice *Jefferies* to go the weſtern circuit, whoſe cruel behaviour ſurpaſſed all that had been ever heard of in a civilized nation: he was always drunk, either with wine or vengeance. When the juries found perſons not guilty, he threatened and confined them, till they brought in a verdict to his mind, as in the caſe of the old lady *Liſle*, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. *Hicks*, a non-conformiſt miniſter, into her houſe, though the jury brought her in three times *not guilty;* and ſhe ſolemnly declared, that ſhe knew not that he had been in the duke's army. He perſuaded many of the priſoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their confeſſion, ordered their immediate execution, without giving them a minute's time to ſay their prayers. Mr. *Tutchin*, who wrote the *Obſervator*, was ſentenced to be impriſoned ſeven years, and to be whipped once every year through all the towns in Dorſetſhire; upon which he petitioned the king that he might be hanged.† Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that in ſeveral places in the *weſt*, there were executed near ſix hundred perſons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred were fixed upon gibbets, and hung upon trees all over the country for fifty or ſixty miles about, to the terror and even annoyance of travellers. The manner in which he treated the priſoners, was barbarous and in-

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 43, Edin. edition.

† Bennet's Memoirs, p. 374, 5, ſecond edit.

human;

human; and his behaviour towards ſome of the nobility and gentry who were well affected, but appeared to the character of ſome of the criminals, would have amazed one (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) if done by a *baſhaw* in Turkey. The king had advice of his proceedings every day, and ſpoke of it in a ſtile neither becoming the majeſty nor mercy of a great prince.* And *Jefferies*, beſides ſatiating himſelf with blood, got great ſums of money, by ſelling pardons to ſuch as were able to purchaſe them, from ten pounds to fourteen thouſand guineas a-piece.†

After the executions in the *weſt*, the king, being in the height of his power, reſolved to be revenged of his old enemies the *whigs*, by making examples of their chief leaders: alderman *Corniſh*, who had ſignalized himſelf in proſecuting the *popiſh plot*, and was frequently in company with the late lord *Ruſſel*, was taken off the Exchange October 13, and within little more than a week tried, condemned, and executed in Cheapſide, for high treaſon, without any tolerable evidence, and his quarters ſet upon Guildhall. On the ſame day Mrs. *Gaunt* a diſſenter, who ſpent a great part of her life in acts of charity, viſiting the gaols, and looking after the poor of what perſuaſion ſoever, having entertained *Burton*, one of *Monmouth*'s men in her houſe, he, by an unheard-of baſeneſs, while ſhe was looking out for an opportunity to ſend him out of the kingdom, went out and accuſed her for harbouring him, and by that means ſaved his own life by taking away hers: ſhe was burnt alive at Tyburn, and died with great reſolution and devotion.‡ Mr. *Bateman* a ſurgeon, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Ferneley*, Col. *Ayloffe*, Mr. *Nelthorpe*, and others, ſuffered in like manner. Lord *Stamford* was admitted to bail, and lord *Delamere* was tried by his peers, and acquitted. Many who had correſponded with the duke of Monmouth abſconded, and had proclamations againſt them, as *John Trenchard*, eſq; Mr. *Speke*, and others. But all who ſuffered in this cauſe expreſſed ſuch a zeal for the

* Bennet's Mem. p. 44, ſecond edit.

† The reader is referred to the "Hiſtory of the Town of Taunton" for an ample account of the progreſs and defeat of the duke of Monmouth, and a minute detail of the ſubſequent ſeverities of *Kirk* and *Jefferies*, p. 135—170. EDIT.

‡ Burnet, p. 45.

proteſtant

proteſtant religion, which they apprehended in danger, as made great impreſſions on the ſpectators. Some ſay the king was hurried on by *Jefferies;* but if his own inclinations had not run ſtrong the ſame way, and if his *prieſts* had not thought it their intereſt to take off ſo many active proteſtants, who oppoſed their meaſures, they would not have let *that butcher* looſe (ſays *Burnet*) to commit ſo many barbarous acts of cruelty, as ſtruck an univerſal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody ſummer, and a dangerous time for honeſt men to live in.

When the king met his parliament Nov. 9, he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of his arms; but told them, that, in order to prevent any new diſturbances, he was determined to keep the preſent army together; and "let no man (ſays "his majeſty) take exceptions that ſome officers are not "qualified, for they are moſt of them known to me for the "loyalty of their principles and practices; and therefore to "deal plainly with you, after having had the benefit of their "ſervices in a time of need and danger, I will neither expoſe "them to diſgrace, nor myſelf to the want of them——"* Thus we were to have a ſtanding army under popiſh officers, in defiance of the penal laws and teſt. The *commons* would have given them an act of indemnity for what was paſt, but the king would not accept it; and becauſe the houſe was not diſpoſed to his *diſpenſing power*, he prorogued them Nov. 20, when they had ſat only eleven days; and after many ſucceſſive prorogations, in the ſpace of two years, diſſolved them.†

The proſecution of the diſſenters, which was carried on with all imaginable ſeverity this and the laſt year, forced ſome of their miniſters into the church; but it had a different and more ſurpriſing influence upon others, who had the courage, in theſe difficult times, to renounce the church as a *perſecuting eſtabliſhment*, and to take their lot among the non-conformiſts;‡ as the reverend Mr. *John Spademan*, M. A. of Swayton in Lincolnſhire; Mr. *John Raſtrick*, vicar of Kirton near Boſton; Mr. *Burroughs* of Frampton; Mr. *Scoffin* of Brotherton; Mr. *Quip* of Moreton; and a few others; who

* Gazette, No. 2085. † Burnet, p. 70, 71.

‡ Calamy's Abridgment, p. 460, &c.

could

could be influenced by no other principle but conſcience in a cauſe which had nothing in this world to recommend it but truth, attended with bonds and impriſonment, and the loſs of all things.

Great were the oppreſſions of thoſe who frequented the *ſeparate meetings* in ſeveral counties; the informers broke in upon ſir *John Hartoppe*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, and others, at Stoke-Newington, to levy diſtreſſes for conventicles, to the value of ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds: the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighbouring villages near London.* The juſtices and *conſiding clergy* were equally diligent in their ſeveral pariſhes. Injunctions were ſent out from ſeveral of the biſhops, under the ſeal of their offices, requiring all churchwardens to preſent ſuch as did not repair to church, nor receive the ſacrament at Eaſter; which were read publickly in the churches of Hertfordſhire, Eſſex, &c. And the *juries* at the aſſizes gave it as their opinion, that the diſſenters ſhould be effectually proſecuted; but the ſcandalous villanies and perjuries of the *informers* made wiſe men abhor the trade; however, ſo terrible were the times, that many families and miniſters removed with their effects to New-England, and other plantations in America; among whom we may reckon the reverend and worthy Mr. *Samuel Lee*, the ejected miniſter of Biſhopſgate, who in his return to his flock, after the revolution, was made priſoner by the French, and carried to St. *Maloes*, where he periſhed in a dungeon, under the hands of thoſe *whoſe tender mercies are cruel*.† Many miniſters were fined and impriſoned, and great numbers of their moſt ſubſtantial hearers cited into the *commons*, their names being fixed upon the doors of their pariſh churches; and if they did not appear, an excommunication and a *capias* followed, unleſs they found means, by preſents of wine, by gold in the fingers of a pair of gloves, or ſome effectual bribe, to get themſelves excuſed; for which, among others, the name of Dr. *Pinfold*‡ is famous to this day. The

* Calamy, p. 372, 373; or Palmer's Non-conformiſt's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 163—168.

† Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 95, 6.

‡ Dr. *Pinfold* was a gentleman of the long robe, and was the king's advocate in the proſecution of biſhop *Compton*. But though he ſtood at the chancellor's

The diſſenters continued to take the moſt prudent meaſures to cover their private meetings from their adverſaries. They aſſembled in ſmall numbers——they frequently ſhifted their places of worſhip, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings—there were friends without doors, always on the watch to give notice of approaching danger—when the dwellings of diſſenters joined, they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houſes——they had ſometimes private paſſages from one houſe to another, and *trap doors* for the eſcape of the miniſter, who went always in diſguiſe, except when he was diſcharging his office—in country-towns and villages they were admitted through back yards and gardens into the houſe, to avoid the obſervation of neighbours and paſſengers—for the ſame reaſon they never ſung pſalms—and the miniſter was placed in ſuch an inward part of the houſe, that his voice might not be heard in the ſtreets—the doors were always locked, and a centinel placed near them to give the alarm, that the preacher might eſcape by ſome private paſſage, with as many of the congregation as could avoid the *informers*. But notwithſtanding all their precautions, *ſpies* and *falſe brethren* crept in among them in diſguiſe, their aſſemblies were frequently interrupted, and great ſums of money raiſed by fines or compoſitions, to the diſcouragement of trade and induſtry, and enriching the officers of the *ſpiritual courts*.

Thus were the non-conformiſts ground between the *papiſts* on the one hand, and the *high church clergy* on the other; while the former made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the *diſſenters* were deſtroyed, or thoroughly exaſperated, and the clergy divided among themſelves, they ſhould be a match for the hierarchy, and capable of eſtabliſhing that religion, they had been ſo long aiming to introduce. With this view, ſwarms of *jeſuits* and *regular prieſts* were ſent for from abroad; *jeſuits' ſchools*, and other ſeminaries, were opened in London and the country; *maſs-houſes* were erected in the moſt conſiderable towns; four *Roman catholic* biſhops were conſecrated in the royal chapel, and exerciſed their functions under the character of *vicars apoſ-*

chancellor's elbow and took notes, while the biſhop's council were pleading, he ſaid nothing by way of reply. Bp. Compton's Life, p. 37. Ed.

tolical;

tolical; their regular clergy appeared at Whitehall and St. James's in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to ſeduce the common people. The way to preferment was to be a *catholic*, or to *declare for the prerogative;* all ſtate affairs being managed by ſuch men. An open correſpondence was held with Rome, and many pamphlets were diſperſed, to make proſelytes to the Romiſh faith, or at leaſt to effect a coalition. Multitudes of the king's ſubjects frequented the popiſh chapels; ſome changed their *profeſſion;* and all men were forbid to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the king's religion.

At length the eyes of many of the clergy began to be opened, and they judged it neceſſary to preach *againſt the popiſh doctrines*, that they might recover the people who were deſerting in numbers, and reſcue the proteſtant religion from the danger into which their own follies had brought it. The king being acquainted with this, by the advice of his prieſts, ſent circular letters to the biſhops, with an order, *prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion;* which many complained of, though it was no more than king *James* and *Charles* I. had done before. However, when their mouths were ſtopped in the pulpit, ſome of the moſt learned and zealous agreed to fight the *catholics* with their own weapons, and to publiſh ſmall pamphlets for the benefit of the *vulgar*, in defence of the proteſtant doctrines. When a popiſh pamphlet was in the preſs, they made intereſt with the workmen, and got the ſheets as they were wrought off, ſo that an anſwer was ready as ſoon as the pamphlet was publiſhed. There was hardly a week, in which ſome ſermon or ſmall treatiſe againſt popery, was not printed and diſperſed among the common people, which, in the compaſs of a year or two, produced a valuable ſet of controverſial writings againſt the errors of that church.* The chief writers were Dr. *Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Teniſon, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c.*†

* A vaſt collection of theſe pieces was publiſhed about fifty years ago, in three volumes folio, under the direction of Dr. *Gibſon* biſhop of London. But this contained only a part of the tracts written by the proteſtants: and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. *Wake*, Dr. *Gee*, and Mr. *Francis Peck*, were defective in the titles of them. Birch's Life of Archbp. Tillotſon, p. 127. Ed.

† Burnet, vol. iii. p. 79, 80. Edin. edit.

men

men of great name and renown, who gained immortal honour, and were afterwards advanced to the higheſt dignities in the church. Never was a bad cauſe more weakly managed by the papiſts, nor a more compleat victory obtained by the proteſtants.

But the church party, not content with their triumph, *have of late cenſured the non-conformiſts, for appearing only as ſpectators, and not joining them in the combat.** But how could the clergy expect this from a ſet of men whom they had been perſecuting for above twenty years, and who had the yoke of oppreſſion ſtill lying on their necks? Had not the non-conformiſts been beforehand with them in their *morning exerciſes againſt popery?* And did not Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Pool*, *Baxter*, *Clarkſon*, and others, write againſt the errors of the church of Rome, throughout the whole reign of king *Charles* II? Had not the non-conformiſts ſtood in the gap, and expoſed themſelves ſufficiently to the reſentments of the papiſts, for refuſing to come into their meaſures for an *univerſal toleration*, in which they might have been included? Beſides, the *poor miniſters* were hardly crept out of corners, their papers had been rifled, and their books ſold or ſecreted, to avoid ſeizure; they had little time to ſtudy, and therefore might not be ſo well prepared for the argument, as thoſe who had lived in eaſe and ſecurity. Farther, the *church party* was moſt nearly concerned, the non-conformiſts having nothing to loſe, whereas all the emoluments of the church were at ſtake; and after all, ſome of the diſſenters did write; and, if we may believe Dr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, their tracts being thought too warm, were refuſed to be licenſed.† Upon the whole,

* Calamy, p. 373; and Pierce's Vindication, p. 266.

† A licence was refuſed to a diſcourſe againſt the whole ſyſtem of popery, drawn up by the learned Mr. *Jonathan Hanmer*, who was ejected from Biſhop's-Tawton in Devon. A diſcourſe againſt tranſubſtantiation, written by Mr. *Henry Pendlebury*, ejected from Holcomb chapel in Lancaſhire, and afterwards publiſhed by Arch. *Tillotſon*, met with the like refuſal. An offer that Mr. *Baxter* would produce a piece againſt popery every month, if a licence might be had, was rejected with ſcorn. And Mr. *Jane*, the biſhop of London's chaplain, denied his ſanction to a piece he actually drew up on the church's viſibility. But in oppoſition to what Mr. *Neal* ſays above concerning this point, Dr. *Grey*, it is but juſtice to obſerve, gives us letters from Dr.

whole, biſhop *Burnet* wiſely obſerves,* that as the *diſſenters* would not engage on the ſide of popery and the prerogative, nor appear for taking off the teſts in the preſent circumſtances; ſo, on the other hand, they were unwilling to provoke the king, who had lately given them hopes of liberty, leſt he ſhould make up matters upon any terms with the church party, at their expence; nor would they provoke the *church party*, or by any ill behaviour drive them into a reconciliation with the court; therefore they reſolved to let the *points of controverſy* alone, and leave them to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to ſupport them.

The clergy's writing thus warmly againſt popery broke all meaſures between the king and the church of England, and made each party court that *body of men* for their *auxiliaries*, whom they had been perſecuting and deſtroying for ſo many years. His majeſty now reſolved to introduce an *univerſal toleration* in deſpite of the church, and at their expence.† The *cruelty* of the church of England was his common ſubject of diſcourſe; he reproached them for their violent perſecutions of the diſſenters, and ſaid he had intended to ſet on foot a *toleration* ſooner, but *that he was reſtrained by* SOME OF THEM *who had treated with him, and had undertaken to ſhew favour to the papiſts, provided they might be*

Dr. *Iſham*, Dr. *Alſton*, Dr. *Batteley*, and Mr. *Needham*, licenſers of the preſs, declaring that *they* never refuſed to licenſe a book, becauſe written by a *diſſenter*; and that they did not recollect that any tract, of which a *diſſenter* was the author, was brought to them for their ſanction. As to Mr. *Baxter*, in particularly Dr. *Iſham* avers, that he never obſtructed his writing againſt popery, but licenſed one of his books: "and if he had prepared any thing "againſt the common enemy," ſays Dr. *Iſham*, "without ſtriking obliquely "at our church, I would certainly have forwarded them from the preſs." It is to be added, that one piece from the pen of Mr. *Hanmer* had the *imprimatur* of Dr. *Jane*. Theſe authorities appear to contradict each other: but it is, probably, not only a candid, but juſt method of reconciling them, and preſerving our opinion of the veracity of both parties, that the tracts to which a licence was refuſed, were not offered to the gentlemen whoſe letters Dr. *Grey* quotes; but to Dr. *Jane*, or other licenſers, with whoſe declarations we are not furniſhed. Bennet's Memorial, p. 399, 400, ſecond edit. Baxter's Hiſtory of his own Life, part III. p. 183, folio. Palmer's Nonconformiſt's Memorial, vol. i. p. 342. Dr. Grey, vol. ii. p. 424—432. The matter was, I underſtand, diſcuſſed by Mr. *Tong*, in his defence of Mr. *Henry*'s Notion of Schiſm. ED.

* P. 121, 122. † Burnet, p. 140.

ſtill

ſtill ſuffered to vex the diſſenters; and he named the very men, though they thought fit afterwards to deny it: how far the fact is probable muſt be left with the reader.

It being thought impracticable to obtain a *legal toleration* in the preſent circumſtances of the nation, his majeſty determined to attempt it by the *diſpenſing power;* for this purpoſe ſir *Edward Hales*, a popiſh gentleman of Kent, was brought to trial for breaking through the *teſt act*, when ſir *Edward Herbert*, lord chief juſtice, gave judgment in his favour, and declared *the powers of the crown to be abſolute.** The other judges were cloſeted, and ſuch diſplaced as were of a different ſentiment; and the king being reſolved to have twelve judges of his own opinion,† four had their *quietus*, and as many new ones were advanced, from whom the king exacted a promiſe to ſupport the prerogative in all its branches. There was a *new call of ſerjeants*, who gave rings with this motto, DEUS, REX, LEX, *God*, the *king*, and the *law;* the king being placed before the law. The privy council was new modelled, and ſeveral declared papiſts admitted into it; two *confiding clergymen* were promoted to biſhopricks. *Parker* to Oxford, and *Cartwright* to Cheſter. Many pamphlets were written and diſperſed in favour of *liberty of conſcience;* and ſir *Roger L' Eſtrange*, with other mercenary writers, were employed to maintain, that *a power in the king to diſpenſe with the laws, is law.*‡ But the opinion of private writers not being thought ſufficient, it was reſolved to have the determination of the *judges*, who all (except one) gave it as their opinion; 1. *That the laws of England were the king's laws.* 2. *That it is an inſeparable branch of the prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other ſovereign princes, to diſpenſe with all*

* Burnet, p. 73, 4.

† Lord chief juſtice *Jones*, one of the diſplaced judges, upon his diſmiſſion, obſerved to the king, "That he was by no means ſorry that he was laid "aſide, old and worn out as he was in his ſervice; but concerned that his "majeſty ſhould expect ſuch a conſtruction of the law from him as he could "not honeſtly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious "men would give their judgment as he expected." To this the king replied, "It was neceſſary his judges ſhould be all of one mind." Memoirs of ſir John Reresby, p. 233. ED.

‡ Welwood's Memoirs, p. 194.

penal laws in particular caſes, and on particular occaſions. 3. *That of theſe reaſons and neceſſity the king is ſole judge.* 4. *That this is not a truſt now inveſted in, and granted to the preſent king, but the antient remains of the ſovereign power of the kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be.* Thus the laws of England were given up at once into the hands of the king, by a ſolemn determination of the *judges*.

This point being ſecured, his majeſty began to careſs the *non-conformiſts*. "All on a ſudden (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) "the churchmen were diſgraced, and the diſſenters in high "favour. Lord chief juſtice *Herbert* went the Weſtern cir- "cuit after *Jefferies*, who was now made lord chancellor, "and all was grace and favour to them: their former ſuffer- "ings were much reflected upon and pitied; every thing "was offered that might alleviate them; *their miniſters* were "encouraged to ſet up their conventicles, which had been "diſcontinued, or held very ſecretly for four or five years; "intimations were given every where, that the king would "not have them or their meetings diſturbed."† A *diſpenſation*, or *licence office* was ſet up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only fifty ſhillings, for themſelves and their families. Many who had been proſecuted for *conventicles*, took out thoſe licences, which not only ſtopped all proceſſes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publickly to meetings for the future. "Upon "this (ſays the ſame reverend prelate) ſome of the diſſentes "grew inſolent, but wiſer men among them perceived the "deſign of the papiſts was now to ſet on the *diſſenters* againſt "the *church*, and therefore, though they returned to their "*conventicles*, yet they had a juſt jealouſy of the ill deſigns "that lay hid, under all this ſudden and unexpected ſhew of

* Page 78.

† King *James*, previouſly to his adopting of theſe conciliating meaſures with the diſſenters, ſuch was his art and duplicity, had tried all the methods he could think of to bring the church into his deſigns: and twice offered, it was ſaid, to make a ſacrifice of all the diſſenters in the kingdom to them, if they would but have complied with him: but failing in this attempt, he faced about to the non-conformiſts. Calamy's Hiſtory of his own Life, vol. i. p. 170, MS. Ed.

"grace

" grace and kindneſs, and *they took care not to provoke the* " *church party.*" But where then were the underſtandings of the high church clergy, during the whole reign of king *Charles* II. while they were purſuing the non-conformiſts and their families to deſtruction, for a long courſe of years? Did they not perceive the deſign of the papiſts? Or were they not willing rather to court them, at the expence of the whole body of *diſſenting proteſtants?* Biſhop *Laud*'s ſcheme of uniting with the papiſts, and meeting them half way, was never out of their ſight; however, when the reader calls to mind the oppreſſion and cruelties that the conſcientious non-conformiſts underwent from the *high church party* for twenty-five years, he will be ready to conclude *they* deſerved no regard, if the *proteſtant religion itſelf* had not been at ſtake.

Thus the allwiſe providence of God put a period to the proſecution of the *proteſtant diſſenters* from the penal laws, though the laws themſelves were not legally repealed, or ſuſpended, till after the revolution of king *William* and queen *Mary*. It may not therefore be improper to give the reader a ſummary view of their uſage in this and the laſt reign, and of the damages they ſuſtained in their perſons, families, and fortunes.

The QUAKERS, in their petition to king JAMES* the laſt year, inform his majeſty, that of late above *one thouſand five hundred* of their friends were in priſon, both men and women; and that now there remain one thouſand three hundred eighty-three, of which two hundred are women; many under ſentence of *præmunire;* and more than three hundred near it, for refuſing the oath of allegiance *becauſe they could not ſwear.*†——Above three hundred and fifty have died in priſon ſince the year 1660, near one hundred of which ſince the year 1680.——In London, the gaol of Newgate has been crouded within theſe two years, ſometimes with near

* It was addreſſed not to king *James* only, but to both houſes of parliament. They made alſo an application to the king alone; recommending to his princely clemency the caſe of their ſuffering friends. Sewel, p. 592. This was not ſo copious a ſtate of their caſe as the petition to which Mr. *Neal* refers, and is called by *Gough* their firſt addreſs. Vol. iii. p. 162; and the Index under the word ADDRESS. ED.

† Sewel, p. 588, 593.

twenty in a room, whereby ſeveral have been ſuffocated, and others, who have been taken out ſick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days;—great violences, outrageous diſtreſſes, and woeful havock and ſpoil have been made on people's goods and eſtates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and mercileſs *informers*, by proſecutions on the conventicle act, and others, as may be ſeen in the margin.* Alſo on *qui tam* writs, and on other proceſſes, for twenty pounds a month; and two-thirds of their eſtates ſeized for the king:—ſome had not a bed left to reſt upon; others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for ſeed or bread, nor tools to work with: the ſaid informers and bailiffs in ſome places breaking into houſes, and making great waſte and ſpoil, under pretence of ſerving the king and the church.——Our religious aſſemblies have been charged at common law with being *riotous routs, and diſturbances of the peace*, whereby great numbers have been confined in priſons, without regard to age or ſex; and many in holes and dungeons:—the ſeizures for twenty pounds a month have amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds; ſometimes they have ſeized for eleven months at once, and made ſale of all goods and chattels both within doors and without, for payment:—ſeveral who have employed ſome hundreds of poor families in manufacture, are by thoſe writs and ſeizures diſabled, as well as by long impriſonment; one in particular, who employed two hundred people in the woollen manufacture.—Many *informers*, and eſpecially *impudent women*, whoſe huſbands are in priſon,

* The acts or penal laws on which they ſuffered were theſe:

Some few ſuffered on 27 *Henry* VIII. cap. 20.

Others on 1 *Eliz.* cap. 2, for twelve-pence a Sunday.

5 *Eliz.* cap. 23, *De excommu. capiendo.*

23 *Eliz.* cap. 1, for 20l. a month.

29 *Eliz.* cap. 6, *for more ſpeedy and due execution of laſt ſtatute.*

35 *Eliz.* cap. 1, *for abjuring the realm on pain of death.*

3 King *James* I. cap. 4, *for better diſcovering and ſuppreſſing popiſh recuſants.*

13th and 14th of king *Charles* II. againſt *quakers*, &c. tranſportation.

17 *Charles* II. cap. 2, *againſt non-conformiſts.*

22 King *Charles* II. cap. 1, *againſt ſeditious conventicles.*

N. B. The *quakers* were not much affected with the *corporation and teſt acts*, becauſe they would not take an *oath*;

Nor with the Oxford *five-mile act*, which cut the others to pieces.

ſwear

ſwear for their ſhare of the profit of the ſeizures—the fines upon one juſtice's warrant have amounted to many hundred pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and five warrants together for fifty pounds to one man; and for non-payment, all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads. They ſpare neither widows, nor fatherleſs, nor poor families; nor leave them ſo much as a bed to lie upon:—thus the *informers* are both witneſſes and parties, to the ruin of great numbers of ſober families; and juſtices of peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not iſſue out warrants upon their informations.—With this petition, they preſented to the king and parliament a liſt of their *friends* in priſon in the ſeveral counties, amounting to one thouſand four hundred and ſixty.

But it is impoſſible to make an exact computation of the number of ſufferers, or eſtimate of the damages his majeſty's *diſſenting ſubjects* of the ſeveral denominations ſuſtained, by the proſecutions of this and the laſt reign; how many families were impoveriſhed, and reduced to beggary; how many lives were loſt in priſons and noiſome gaols; how many *miniſters* were divorced from their people, and forced to live as they could, *five miles from a corporation*: how many induſtrious and laborious *tradeſmen* were cut off from their trades; and their ſubſtance and houſehold goods plundered by ſoldiers, or divided among idle and infamous informers. The vexatious ſuits of the *commons*, and the expences of *thoſe courts*, were immenſe.

The writer of the *preface* of Mr. *Delaune's plea for the non-conformiſts*, ſays,* that *Delaune* was one of near eight thouſand *proteſtant diſſenters*, who had periſhed in priſon in the reign of king *Charles* II. and that *merely for diſſenting from the church in ſome points, which they were able to give good reaſon for;* and yet for no other cauſe, (ſays he) were they ſtifled, I had almoſt ſaid, murdered in gaols.—As for the ſevere penalties inflicted on them, for ſeditious and riotous aſſemblies, deſigned only for the worſhip of God, he adds, that they ſuffered in their trades and eſtates, within the compaſs of three years, at leaſt two millions; and doubts, whether in all the times ſince the reformation, including the reign of queen

* Preface to Delaune's Plea, p. 5.

MARY,

MARY, there can be produced any thing like ſuch a number of chriſtians who have ſuffered death; and ſuch numbers who have loſt their ſubſtance for religion. Another writer adds,* that Mr. *Jeremy White* had carefully collected *a liſt of the diſſenting ſufferers, and of their ſufferings;* and had the names of ſixty thouſand perſons who had ſuffered on a religious account, between the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. and the revolution of king *William;* five thouſand of whom died in priſon. That Mr. *White* told lord *Dorſet*, that king *James* had offered him a thouſand guineas for the manuſcript, but that he refuſed all invitations and rewards, and concealed the black record, that it might not appear to the diſreputation of the church of England, for which ſome of the clergy ſent him their thanks, and offered him an acknowledgment, which he generouſly refuſed. The reader will form his own judgment of the truth of theſe facts. It is certain, that beſides thoſe who ſuffered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations of New-England, Pennſylvania, and other parts of America. Many tranſported themſelves and their effects into Holland,† and filled the Engliſh churches of Amſterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, and other parts. If we admit the diſſenting families of the ſeveral denominations in England, to be one hundred and fifty thouſand, and that each family ſuffered no more than the loſs of three or four pounds per annum, from the *act of uniformity*, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions; a prodigious ſum for thoſe times! But theſe are only conjectures; the damage to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immenſe; and the wounds that were made in the eſtates of private families were deep and

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 715.

† Among theſe were Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Shower*, Mr. *Nat. Taylor*, Mr. *Papillon*, ſir *John Thompſon*, (afterwards lord *Haverſham*) ſir *John Guiſe*, and ſir *Patience Ward*. The States of Holland treated the Engliſh Refugees with particular reſpect. But as it has been pertinently obſerved, it was a reproach to this nation, that, in particular, ſo excellent a perſon as Mr. *Howe*, whoſe unaffected piety, polite and profound learning, and moſt ſweet, ingenious and genteel temper, entitled him to the eſteem of the greateſt and beſt men in the land of all perſuaſions; that ſuch a one at that time could not have a ſafe and quiet habitation in his native country. Tong's Life of Shower, p. 51. ED.

large;

large; many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the ſcars of them to this day.

When the *proteſtant diſſenters* roſe up into publick view as a diſtinct body, their long ſufferings had not very much diminiſhed their numbers, which, though not to be compared with thoſe of the eſtabliſhment, or the *tories* and *roman catholics*, were yet ſo conſiderable, as to be capable of turning the ſcale on either ſide, according as they ſhould throw in their weight, which might poſſibly be owing, amongſt others, to the following reaſons:

1. To *their firmneſs and conſtancy in a long courſe of ſuffering*, which convinced the world, that they were not actuated by humour, but conſcience.

2. To *their doctrine and manner of preaching*, which was plain and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening addreſs to the conſcience. Their doctrines were thoſe of the *firſt reformers*, which were grown out of faſhion in the church; and their way of worſhip was ſimple and plain; without the ornament of rites and ceremonies.

3. To *the ſeverity of their morals*, at a time when the nation was ſunk into all kinds of vice and luxury, from which they preſerved themſelves in a great meaſure untainted. Their converſation was ſober and virtuous. They obſerved the Lord's day with religious ſtrictneſs, and had an univerſal reputation for juſtice and integrity in their dealings.

4. To *the careful and ſtrict education of their children*, whom they impreſſed with an early ſenſe of ſcriptural religion, and educated in their own way, as they had opportunity, under private ſchool-maſters of their own principles.

5. To a concern for a *ſucceſſion of able and learned miniſters;* for which purpoſe they encouraged *private academies* in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and it is remarkable that many gentlemen and ſubſtantial citizens devoted their children to the miniſtry, at a time when they had nothing in view but worldly diſcouragements.

6. To *the perſecuting zeal of the high church party*, attended with an uncommon licentiouſneſs of manners. If their zeal againſt the nonconformiſts had produced a greater ſanctity of life, and ſeverity of morals, amongſt themſelves, it had been leſs offenſive; but to ſee men deſtitute of common

common virtue, ſigning warrants of diſtreſs upon their neighbours, only for worſhipping God peaceably at a *ſeparate meeting*, when they themſelves hardly worſhipped God at all; made ſome apprehend there was nothing at all in religion, and others reſolve to take their lot with a more ſober people.

Finally, To *the ſpirit and principles of toriſm, which began to appear ruinous to the nation.* The old Engliſh conſtitution was in a manner loſt, while the *church* and *prerogative* had been trampling on the *diſſenters*, who had ſtood firm to it for twenty years, in the midſt of reproaches and ſufferings. This was the conſequence of *tory* meaſures; and *popery* being now coming in at the gap they had made, the moſt reſolved proteſtants ſaw their error, entertained a favourable opinion of the *diſſenters*, and many of them joined their congregations.

To return to the hiſtory. The *diſſenters* being now eaſy, it was reſolved to turn the artillery of the *prerogative* againſt the church, and make them feel a little of the ſmart they had given others; the king and his prieſts were thoroughly enraged with their oppoſition to the court, and therefore appointed commiſſioners throughout England to enquire, *what money had been raiſed?* or *what goods had been ſeized by diſtreſs on diſſenters, on proſecutions for recuſancy*, and not brought to account in the Exchequer? In the Gazette of March 5, 1687, it is advertiſed, that the *commiſſioners* appointed to examine into the loſſes of the diſſenters and recuſants, within the ſeveral counties of Glouceſter, Worceſter, and Monmouth, were to hold their ſeſſions for the ſaid counties, at the places therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the counties of Middleſex, Eſſex, &c. to enquire what money or goods had been taken or received for any matters relating to religion ſince Sept. 29, 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all perſons who had ſeized goods, or received money. The parties themſelves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give an account; and if dead, their repreſentatives were to appear before the commiſſioners for them. This ſtruck terror into the whole *tribe of informers*, the *confiding juſtices*, and others who expected now to be ruined;

ruined; but (ſays Dr. *Calamy*) the *proteſtant diſſenters* generouſly refuſed to appear againſt their enemies, upon aſſurances given by leading perſons, both clergy and laity, that no ſuch methods ſhould be uſed for the future. Had *this enquiry* proceeded, and the diſſenters univerſally come into it, a black and fraudulent ſcene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "The "king ordered them to enquire into all *vexatious ſuits* into "which the diſſenters had been brought in the *ſpiritual* "*courts*, and into all the *compoſitions* they had been forced "to make to redeem themſelves from further trouble, "*which, as was ſaid, would have brought to light a ſcandalous* "*diſcovery of all the ill practices of thoſe courts;* for the uſe "that many who belong to thoſe courts had made of the "laws with relation to diſſenters, was, *to draw preſents from* "*ſuch as could make them*, threatening them with a proceſs "in caſe they failed to do that, and upon doing it, leaving "them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they "pleaſed. The *commiſſion* ſubſiſted till the *revolution*, and "it was hoped (ſays his lordſhip) that this would have "animated the *diſſenters* to turn upon the clergy with ſome "of that fierceneſs with which they themſelves had been "lately treated."* But they took no advantage of the diſpoſition of the court, nor of the opportunity that was put into their hands of making repriſals on their adverſaries; which ſhews the truly generous and chriſtian ſpirit of thoſe *confeſſors for religion;* and deſerved a more grateful acknowledgment.

To humble the clergy yet further, his majeſty, by the advice of *Jefferies*, erected a *new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*, though the act which took away the *high commiſſion* in 1641 had provided, that no court of that nature ſhould be erected for the future; but the king, though a papiſt, aſſumed the *ſupremacy*, and directed a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Jefferies* the chancellor, the biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter;* to the earl of *Sunderland* preſident of the council; *Herbert* and *Wright*, lord chief juſtices, and *Jenner* recorder of London, or any three of them, provided the *chancellor* was one, "To exerciſe all manner of juriſdiction

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 140, 41, Edinb. edit.

"and

" and pre-eminence, touching any ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical " juriſdictions, to viſit, reform, redreſs, and amend all abuſes, " offences, contempts and enormities, which by the ſpiritual " or eccleſiaſtical laws might be corrected. They were alſo " to enquire into all miſdemeanors and contempts which " might be puniſhed by the cenſures of the church, and to " call before them all eccleſiaſtical perſons of what degree " and dignity ſoever, and puniſh the offenders by excom- " munications, ſuſpenſions, deprivations, or other eccleſi- " aſtical cenſures, &c."* This was a terrible rod held out to the clergy, and if the *commiſſioners* had had time to proceed in their *enquiries*, according to the mandates ſent to the chancellors and archdeacons of the ſeveral dioceſes, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary power which their indiſcreet conduct had brought on the nation; but Providence was kinder to them than they had been to their brethren.† The commiſſion was granted the beginning of April, but was not opened till the beginning of Auguſt; the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was afraid to act in it:‡ *Durham* was ſo lifted up, (ſays *Burnet*) that he ſaid his name would now be recorded in hiſtory; and *Sprat* biſhop of Rocheſter, in hopes of further preferment, ſwam with the ſtream.§ Some *Roman catholicks* were in the commiſſion,

* Burnet, p. 82. † Welwood, p. 198.

‡ It is ſaid, that he took exception at the lawfulneſs of the commiſſion itſelf. But then on its being opened, he did not appear and declare againſt it, as judging it to be againſt law: contenting himſelf with not going to it: and it was not at firſt apprehended that he made a matter of conſcience of it. He was of a timorous nature, and cautious of doing any thing that might eventually be prejudicial to his great object, which was to enrich his nephew. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 82, 3. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 405. EDIT.

§ Though the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* might, from views to preferment, be induced to act in a commiſſion to which he was, without his knowledge, named: yet he is ſtated to have acted with integrity in this matter, through his ignorance of the laws, having no objection to the legality of it; with the purpoſe of doing as much good, and preventing as much evil, as the times would permit. In the execution of it he pleaded, that he had ſtudied to moderate and reſtrain the violence of others, never giving his conſent to any irregular and arbitrary ſentence, but declaring againſt every extravagant decree. His opinions, he ſaid, were always ſo contrary to the humours of the court, that he often thought himſelf to be really in as much hazard

commiſſion, and conſequently the enemies of the proteſtant religion were to be its judges.

But his majeſty, not being willing to rely altogether on the Oxford *decree*, nor on the faſhionable doctrines of *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which had been preached up for above twenty years as the unalterable doctrines of the church of England, in order to ſupport his extraordinary proceedings, reſolved to augment his ſtanding forces to fifteen thouſand men. He was apprehenſive of a *ſnake in the graſs*, or a *ſecret reſerve*, that might break out when the church itſelf came to be pinched; he therefore ordered his army to encamp on Hounſlow-heath, under the command of the earl of *Feverſham*, to awe the city, and be at hand upon any emergency; the officers and many of the ſoldiers were Iriſh *papiſts*, and they had a publick chapel in which maſs was ſaid every day, ſo that it was believed the king might introduce what religion he pleaſed.* It was dangerous to ſpeak or write againſt his majeſty's proceedings; for when the reverend Mr. *Johnſon*, a clergyman, ventured to publiſh a writing, directed to the proteſtant officers of the army, to diſſuade them from being tools of the court to ſubvert the conſtitution and proteſtant religion; diligent ſearch was made for him, and being apprehended, he was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be fined five hundred marks; all which was executed with great ſeverity.† Affairs

hazard from the commiſſion itſelf, by his non-compliance, as any of his brethren could be that were out of it. And, at laſt, rather than concur in the proſecution of ſuch as refuſed to read the king's declaration, he ſolemnly took his leave and withdrew from the court. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 405, 6.. Ed.

* Gazette, No. 2192.

† Mr. *Johnſon*, previouſly to his ſufferings, was degraded in the chapter-houſe of St. Paul's on the 22d of November, 1686. He bore the whipping on the 1ſt of Dec. following with great fortitude. The revolution reſtored him to his liberty; the degradation was annulled; the judgment given againſt him was declared illegal and cruel; and a penſion of 300l. a year for his own and ſon's life was granted to him with 1000l. in money, and a place of 100l. a year for his ſon. His temper, which was haughty, rough and turbulent, rendered his ſolicitations for a biſhoprick, and two addreſſes of the lords, recommending him to preferment, unſucceſsful. He had been

Affairs in Scotland were in equal forwardneſs with thoſe of England; the parliament which met at Edinburgh in May 1685, while the perſecution continued, declared their abhorrence of all principles derogatory to the king's *abſolute power*, and offered their lives and fortunes to defend it againſt all oppoſers. They paſſed an act, making it death to reſort to any conventicles in houſes or fields; and declared it high treaſon to give or take the *national covenant*, or to write in defence of it. They alſo obliged the ſubjects of Scotland to take an oath, when required, to maintain the *king's abſolute power*, on pain of baniſhment. Popery made very conſiderable advances in that kingdom, and ſeveral perſons of character changed their religion with the times.* But the populace were in the other extreme; the earl of *Perth* having ſet up a private chapel for maſs, the mob broke into it with ſuch fury that they defaced and deſtroyed the whole furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and hanged. When the Engliſh court changed meaſures, the Scots parliament agreed to a ſuſpenſion of the penal laws during the king's life; but his majeſty inſiſting upon an entire repeal, which they declined, he diſſolved them. The epiſcopal clergy were obſequious to the court, and in many places ſo ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, that the lower people were grown quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the *preſbyterians*, though now freed from the ſeverities they had ſmarted under for many years, expreſſed upon all occaſions an unconquerable averſion to popery, and by degrees rouſed the whole nation out of their lethargy.

In Ireland things had ſtill a more favourable aſpect for the court: the king had a greater dependance on the Iriſh *catho-*

been chaplain to lord *Ruſſel*; and was a man of conſiderable learning and abilities, of great firmneſs and fortitude of mind. In 1683-4 he had incurred a heavy ſentence in the *king*'s bench, being fined 500 marks, and committed to the priſon till it was paid, and ſureties for his good behaviour for a year were found. This penalty was incurred by the publication of a book entitled *Julian the Apoſtate*, in 1682, intended to expoſe the doctrines of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance; and to ſhew the great difference between the caſe of the primitive chriſtians, who had the laws *againſt them*, and ours who have the laws on our ſide. Birch's Life of Archb. Tillotſon, p. 216, &c. Ed.

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 86, 90.

licks

*licks** than upon any other of his ſubjects. Colonel *Talbot*, earl of *Tyrconnel*, was made lord lieutenant of that country, a vile and profligate officer, who ſcrupled no kind of barbarity and wickedneſs to ſerve his cauſe; he broke ſeveral proteſtant officers in the army, and by degrees turned them all out to make room for *papiſts*. All offices both civil and military were put into the hands of the vileſt miſcreants; there was not a proteſtant ſheriff left in that kingdom; the *charters* were taken away, and new-modelled in favour of papiſts. The corporations were diſſolved, and all things managed with an arbitrary hand, ſo that many, imagining the maſſacring knife to be at their throats, left the kingdom; ſome tranſporting themſelves into England, and others into more remote and diſtant countries. Thus far the prerogative prevailed without any repulſe.

Matters being now ripe for attacking the church of England in form, it was reſolved to begin with making an example of ſome of their leading divines: Dr. *Sharp*, rector of St. Giles's, having diſobeyed the king's order, of *not preaching on the controverted points*, and ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the king's religion in one of his ſermons, the biſhop of *London* was ordered to ſuſpend him; but the biſhop, with all reſpect and duty to his majeſty, ſent word, that he could not proceed in ſuch a ſummary way, but that when the cauſe was heard in the *commons* he would pronounce ſuch ſentence as the *canons* ſhould warrant; and in the mean time would deſire the doctor to forbear preaching.† The court reſenting the biſhop's denial, cited him‡ before the *eccleſiaſtical*

* So hoſtile to the cauſe of liberty were the Iriſh *catholicks*; that, not content with oppreſſing it in their own kingdom, they encouraged the emigration of their own body with a view to check its ſpread beyond the Atlantic. For they ſuggeſted to king *James* to grant, in lieu of lands, money to ſuch of their countrymen as were willing to tranſport themſelves into New-England to advance the *catholick* faith there, and check the growing independants of that country. Life of Dr. Increaſe Mather, p. 43. ED. † Burnet, p. 83, 4, 5.

‡ Dr. *Compton*, the biſhop of London, had, by a conduct worthy of his birth and ſtation in the church, acquired the love and eſteem of all the *proteſtant* churches at home and abroad: and for that reaſon, was the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romiſh party at court. He made a diſtinguiſhing figure in the following reigns. He was the youngeſt ſon of *Spencer* earl

aſtical commiſſion Aug. 4, where he was treated by *Jefferies* in a manner unbecoming his character. The biſhop excepted to the authority of the court, as contrary to law, and added, that he had complied in the doctor's caſe as far as the *eccleſiaſtical laws* would permit. However, notwithſtanding all that his lordſhip could ſay in his defence he was ſuſpended *ab officio*,* and the biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, were appointed commiſſioners to exerciſe juriſdiction during his ſuſpenſion. But Dr. *Sharp*, after having expreſſed his ſorrow in a petition for falling under the king's diſpleaſure, was diſmiſſed with a gentle reprimand, and ſuffered to return to the exerciſe of his function.

The king's next attempt was upon the *univerſities:* he began with Cambridge, and commanded Dr. *Peachel* the vice-chancellor to admit one *Alban Francis*, a benedictine monk, to the degree of *M. A.* without adminiſtering to him any oath or oaths whatſoever; all which his majeſty declared he would diſpenſe with.† The *vice-chancellor* having read the letter to the *congregation of regents*, it was agreed to petition the king to revoke his *mandate;* but inſtead of

earl of Northampton, who was killed in the civil wars. After having ſtudied three years at the univerſity, and made the uſual tour of Europe, he became a cornet in the royal regiment of guards; which gave occaſion to the following Bon-mot: king *James*, diſcourſing with him on ſome tender point, was ſo little pleaſed with his anſwers, that he told him, "He "talked more like a colonel than a biſhop." To which he replied, "that "his majeſty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn "his ſword in defence of the conſtitution; and that he ſhould do the ſame "again, if he lived to ſee it neceſſary." Accordingly he appeared in arms again a little before the revolution, and at the head of a fine troop of gentlemen and their atteadants carried off the princeſs *Anne*, and marched into Nottingham. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 175; and Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 283, 4. Ed.

* Though Bp. *Compton* was thus deprived of his epiſcopal power, he ſtill retained his other capacities, particularly as a governor of Sutton's Hoſpital, and preſerved the intrepidity of his ſpirit. For when an attempt was made by the recommendation of the king, to introduce a papiſt as a penſioner, contrary to the ſtatutes of that inſtitution, the biſhop, in conjunction with ſome other truſtees, ſo firmly oppoſed the encroachment upon the rights of the foundation, that the court and commiſſioners ſaw fit in the end to deſiſt from their deſign. Life of Bp. Compton, p. 45; where from p. 22—39, and Biographia Britannica, vol. iv. article *Compton*, p. 55, 56, ſecond edit. may be ſeen a full account of his proſecution. Ed.

† Burnet, p. 114, 15. complying

complying with their petition, the king ſent for the vice-chancellor before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*, by whom he was ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio*, for diſobedience and contempt of the king's commands; and Dr. *Balderſton*, maſter of Emanuel college, was choſen vice-chancellor in his room.

Soon after the king ſent a *mandamus* to the vice-preſident of Magdalen college, Oxford, and to the fellows, to chooſe Mr. *Farmer*, a man of ill reputation, their preſident, in the room of Dr. *Clarke*, deceaſed; but in defiance of the king's mandate they choſe Dr. *Hough;* for which they were cited before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners*, but having proved *Farmer* to be a man of bad character, the king relinquiſhed him, and ordered them by another mandate to chooſe Dr. *Parker* biſhop of Oxford. The fellows, having agreed to abide by their firſt choice, refuſed to elect the biſhop, as contrary to their ſtatutes. Upon which the *commiſſioners* were ſent to viſit them, who, after ſundry enquiries and examinations, deprived Dr. *Hough*, and inſtalled the biſhop of *Oxford* by proxy; and the *fellows* refuſing to ſign a ſubmiſſion to their new *preſident*, twenty-five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any benefice.* *Parker* died ſoon after, and one of the popiſh biſhops was by *mandamus* choſen preſident in his place; which inflamed the church party ſo far, that they ſent preſſing meſſages to the prince of *Orange*, deſiring him to eſpouſe the cauſe of the church, and break with the king if he would not redreſs their grievances. Thus the very firſt beginnings of reſiſtance to king *James* came from that very univerſity which but four years before had pronounced this doctrine *damnable* by a *ſolemn decree;* and from thoſe very men who were afterwards king *William*'s moſt bitter enemies.†

The more deſperate the war grew between the king and the church, the more neceſſary did both parties find it to ſhew

* It will be thought but juſtice to the memory of Bp. *Sprat* to ſtate what he himſelf declared was his conduct on this and the two preceding occaſions. It was this: he reſolutely perſiſted in his diſſent from every vote that paſſed againſt Magdalen college; he oppoſed to the utmoſt the violent perſecution upon the univerſity of Cambridge: and he gave his poſitive vote for the biſhop's acquittal both times, when his ſuſpenſion came in queſtion. Dr. Grey's Examination, p. 406, 7. Ed.

† Burnet, p. 701.

kindneſs

kindneſs to the *diſſenters;* for this purpoſe his majeſty ſent agents among them, offering them the royal favour, and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him *in abrogating the penal laws and teſt;* he invited ſome of their miniſters to court, and pretended to conſult them in the preſent criſis.* The clergy, at the ſame time, prayed and intreated the *diſſenters* to appear on their ſide, and ſtand by the eſtabliſhment, making large promiſes of favour and brotherly affection, if ever they came into power.

The king, notwithſtanding the ſtubbornneſs of the clergy, called a council, in which he declared his reſolution to iſſue out a declaration for a *general liberty of conſcience to all perſons of what perſuaſion ſoever*,† "which he was moved to "do, by having obſerved, that though an uniformity of "worſhip had been endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed within "this kingdom in the ſucceſſive reigns of four of his pre-"deceſſors, aſſiſted by their reſpective parliaments, yet it "had proved altogether ineffectual. That the reſtraint "upon the conſciences of diſſenters had been very prejudi-"cial to the nation, as was ſadly experienced by the horrid "rebellion in the time of his majeſty's father. That the "many penal laws made againſt diſſenters had rather in-"creaſed than leſſened the number of them; and that "nothing could more conduce to the peace and quiet of "this kingdom, and the increaſe of the number as well as "of the trade of his ſubjects, than an entire liberty of

* Amongſt other meaſures, which expreſſed the diſpoſition of the court towards diſſenters, was the power with which ſome gentlemen were inveſted to grant out licences directed to the biſhops and their officers, to the judges, juſtices, and all others whom it may concern. The licences were to this effect: "That the king's pleaſure is, that the ſeveral perſons (named in a "ſchedule annexed) be not proſecuted or moleſted. 1. For not taking "the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy: or, 2, upon the prerogative "writ for 20l. a month: or, 3, upon outlawries, or *excom. capiend.* for the "ſaid cauſes: or, 4, for not receiving the ſacrament: or, 5, by reaſon of "their conviction for recuſancy or exerciſe of their religion, a command to "ſtay proceedings already begun for any of the cauſes aforeſaid." The price for any one of theſe licences was 10l. for a ſingle perſon: but if ſeveral joined the price was 16l. and eight perſons might join in taking out one licence. There were not very many diſſenters that took out theſe licences. Tong's Life of Mr. Matthew Henry, p. 45, 6, 12mo. Ed.

† Gazette, No. 2226.

"conſcience,

" conſcience, it having always been his opinion, as moſt " ſuitable to the principles of chriſtianity, *That no man* " *ſhould be perſecuted for conſcience ſake;* for he thought " conſcience could not be forced, and that it could never be " the true intereſt of a king of England to endeavour to " do it."*

This ſpeech meeting with no oppoſition in the council, his majeſty on the 4th of April cauſed his gracious declaration for liberty of conſcience to be publiſhed.† In the preamble to which his majeſty does not ſcruple to ſay, " That he cannot " but heartily wiſh (as it will eaſily be believed) that all his " ſubjects were members of the *catholick church*, yet it is his " opinion, that *conſcience ought not to be forced*, for the reaſons " mentioned in the foregoing ſpeech," which he rehearſes at large; and then adds, " By virtue of his royal prerogative, he " thinks fit to iſſue out his *declaration of indulgence*, making " no doubt of the concurrence of his two houſes of parlia- " ment, when he ſhall think it convenient for them to meet. " And, *firſt*, He declares, that he will protect and maintain " his archbiſhops, biſhops and clergy, and all other his ſub- " jects of the church of England, in the free exerciſe of their " religion as by law eſtabliſhed, and in the quiet and full " enjoyment of their poſſeſſions. *Secondly*, That it is his " royal will and pleaſure, that all penal laws for non-con- " formity to the religion eſtabliſhed, or by reaſon of the " exerciſe of religion in any manner whatſoever, be imme- " diately ſuſpended. And to the end that, by the liberty " hereby granted, the peace and ſecurity of the government " in the practice thereof may not be endangered, he ſtrictly " charges and commands all his ſubjects, that as he freely " gives them leave to meet, and ſerve God after their own " way, be it in private houſes, or places purpoſely hired " and built for that uſe, ſo that they take ſpecial care that " nothing be preached or taught among them which may

* Under all the pretences of tenderneſs, liberal policy and wiſdom, which gilded over the king's ſpeech, " It was well underſtood," obſerves ſir *John Reresby*, " that his view was to divide the proteſtant churches, " *divide & impera*; that ſo the papiſts might with the more eaſe poſſeſs " themſelves of the higheſt place." Memoirs, p. 243. Ed.

† Gazette, No. 2231.

" tend to alienate the hearts of his people from him or his " government; and that their meetings or aſſemblies be " peaceably, openly, and publickly held, and all perſons " freely admitted to them; and that they ſignify and make " known to ſome one or more of the next juſtices of peace, " what place or places they ſet apart for ſuch uſes. And " he is deſirous to have the benefit of the ſervice of all his " ſubjects, which by the law of nature is inſeparably an- " nexed and inherent to his royal perſon. And that none " of his ſubjects may be for the future under any diſcou- " ragements or diſability, who are otherwiſe well inclined, " and fit to ſerve him, by reaſon of ſome *oaths* or *teſts*, that " have uſually been adminiſtered upon ſuch occaſions, he " hereby further declares, that it is his will and pleaſure, " that the *oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, and the ſeveral* " *teſts and declarations mentioned in the acts of parliament* " *made in the 25th and 30th of his brother's reign, ſhall not* " *hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or ſubſcribed by* " *any perſons whatſoever, who are or ſhall be employed in any* " *office, or place of truſt, either civil or military, under him or* " *in his government.* And it is his intention from time to " time hereafter to grant his royal *diſpenſation* to all his " ſubjects, ſo to be employed, who ſhall not take the ſaid " oaths, or ſubſcribe or declare the ſaid teſts or declarations. " And he does hereby give his free and ample pardon to " all *non-conformiſt recuſants*, and other his ſubjects, for all " crimes and things by them committed, or done contrary " to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion, and " the profeſſion or exerciſe thereof. And although the " freedom and aſſurance he has hereby given in relation to " liberty and property might be ſufficient to remove from " the minds of his ſubjects all fears and jealouſies in relation " to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain " them in all their properties and poſſeſſions, as well of " church and abbey lands, as in other their eſtates and pro- " perties whatſoever."* A declaration

* The operation of this declaration extended beyond England, or Scotland; for it proved beneficial to the people of New-England, whoſe religious liberties as well as their civil rights were near expiring: and who had been told by ſome in power, " They muſt not think to have the pri- " vileges of Engliſhmen follow them to the ends of the earth: and they " had

A declaration of the ſame nature was ſent to Scotland, in which the king, "*by virtue of his prerogative royal, abſolute* "*authority and power over all his ſubjects, who are bound to* "*obey him without reſerve*, repeals all the ſevere laws made "by his grandfather king *James* I. and takes off all diſabili- "ties from his *Roman catholick ſubjects*, which rendered them "incapable of employments and benefices. He alſo ſlack- "ened the laws againſt moderate preſbyterians, and pro- "miſed never no force his ſubjects by any *invincible neceſſity* "to change their religion. He alſo repealed all laws im- "poſing teſts on thoſe who held any employments."†

This was ſtrange conduct (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) in a *Roman catholick* monarch, at a time when his *brother* of France had juſt broke the *edict of Nantz*, and was dragooning his proteſtant ſubjects out of his kingdom. But the biſhop ſuſpects the king's ſincerity in his declaration, from his promiſing to uſe no *invincible neceſſity to force his ſubjects* to change their religion, as if there was a *reſerve*, and that ſome degrees of compulſion might be proper one time or other; which ſeems to have been a parallel caſe to the *doctrine of the church* concerning *non-reſiſtance*. However, by another proclamation, the king granted full liberty to the *Scots preſbyterians* to ſet up conventicles in their own way, which they thankfully accepted; but when his majeſty preſſed them to diſpoſe their friends to concur with him in taking off the teſt and penal laws, which they knew was only to ſerve the *papiſts*, they anſwered only in cold and general terms.

"had no more privileges left them than to be bought and ſold as ſlaves." Upon the liberty, which the declaration afforded them, Dr. *Increaſe Mather* was deputed to take a voyage to England, with addreſſes of thanks to the king from various towns and churches; though the meaſure was oppoſed by the rulers of the province. When he preſented them, he was graciouſly received, and was admitted to different and repeated audiences with the king, who, on receiving the addreſſes, ſaid, "You ſhall have "*magna charta* for liberty of conſcience:" and on its being intimated to him by two of his courtiers, at one of the audiences, that the favour ſhewn to New-England would have a good influence on the body of diſſenters in England, his reply was, "He believed ſo, and it ſhould be "done." Life of Dr. Increaſe Mather, p. 37, &c. ED.

† Eachard, p. 1083.—Burnet, p. 136.

In purſuance of theſe declarations, the diſſenters of all ſorts were not only ſet at liberty, but admitted to ſerve *in all offices of profit and truſt*. Nov. 6, the king ſent an order to the lord-mayor of London to diſpenſe with the *quakers* taking oaths,* or at leaſt, not to fine them if they refuſed to ſerve, by which means a door was open to the *Roman catholicks*, and to all others, to bear offices in the ſtate without a legal qualification. Several addreſſes were preſented to the king upon this occaſion from the *companies in the city of London, from the corporations in the country*, and even from the clergy themſelves, thanking his majeſty for *his declaration for liberty of conſcience, and his promiſe to ſupport the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed*, aſſuring him of their endeavours to chooſe ſuch members for the next parliament as ſhould give it a more legal ſanction.

The ſeveral denominations of *diſſenters* alſo were no leſs thankful for their liberty, and addreſſed his majeſty in higher ſtrains than ſome of their elder and more cautious miniſters approved; Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Stretton*, and a great many others, refuſed to join in them; and biſhop *Burnet* admits§ that few concurred in thoſe addreſſes,‖ and that the perſons

* *Sewel* informs us, that the king carried his condeſcenſion to the quakers ſo far, that a countryman of that perſuaſion came to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat and held it under his arm: which the other ſeeing, ſaid, "The king needs not keep off his hat for "me." To which his majeſty replied, "You do not know the cuſtom "here, for that requires that but one hat muſt be on here."

Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 609. Ed.

§ Page 140.

‖ Dr. *Grey* controverts the above aſſertions of biſhop *Burnet*: he has given at length eight addreſſes from different bodies of diſſenters, in different parts of the kingdom, as ſpecimens of the courtly, not to ſay fulſome and flattering ſtrains, which they, on this occaſion, adopted: and he refers to the gazettes of the times, as furniſhing about ſeventy other compoſitions of the ſame kind; in which this oppreſſed body, emancipated from their ſufferings, fears, and dangers, poured forth the ſentiments of loyalty and gratitude. Mr. *Stretton*, mentioned above, who had been ejected from Petworth in Suſſex, and afterwards gathered a congregation in London, which aſſembled at Haberdaſhers'-Hall, was a miniſter of great reputation and influence; an active and uſeful character. He made uſe of the liberty granted by the king's proclamation, but never did, nor would join in any addreſs of thanks for it, leſt he ſhould ſeem to give countenance to the king's aſſuming a power above the law; and he was inſtrumental to prevent ſeveral addreſſes. Henry's Funeral Sermon for Stretton, p. 45. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 410-416. Ed.

who

who preſented them were mean and inconſiderable. When there was a general meeting of the miniſters to conſider of their behaviour in this criſis, and two meſſengers from court waited to carry back the reſult of the debate, Mr. *Howe* delivered his opinion againſt the *diſpenſing power*, and againſt every thing that might contribute aſſiſtance to the papiſts to enable them to ſubvert the proteſtant religion.* Another miniſter ſtood up, and declared,† that he apprehended their late ſufferings had been occaſioned more by their firm adherence to the *conſtitution*, than their differing from the *eſtabliſhment*, and therefore if the king expected they ſhould give up the conſtitution and declare for the *diſpenſing power*, he had rather, for his part, loſe his liberty, and return to his former bondage.‡ In concluſion Mr. *Howe*, in ſumming up the whole debate, ſignified to the courtiers, *that they were in general of the ſame opinion.* Mr. *Coke* adds, that to his knowledge the diſſenters did both dread and deteſt the *diſpenſing power*; and their ſteadineſs in this criſis was a noble ſtand by a number of men who ſubſiſted only by the royal favour, which ought not to have been ſo ſoon forgotten.

Though the court were a little diſappointed in their expectations from the diſſenters, they put the beſt face they could on the affair, and received ſuch addreſſes as were preſented with high commendation. The firſt who went up were the London *anabaptiſts*, who ſay, that "the ſenſe "of this invaluable favour and benefit derived to us from "your royal clemency, compel us to proſtrate ourſelves at "your majeſty's feet with the tender of our moſt humble "thanks for that peace and liberty which both we, and all "other diſſenters from the national church, now enjoy."‖

* Gazette, No. 2234.

† This gentleman was Dr. *Daniel Williams*, who purſued the argument with ſuch clearneſs and ſtrength, that all preſent rejected the motion, and the court agents went away diſappointed. There was a meeting at the ſame time of a conſiderable number of the city clergy, waiting the iſſue of their deliberations: who were greatly animated and encouraged by the bold and patriotic reſolution of the diſſenting miniſters. Life of Dr. Williams, prefixed to his practical diſcourſes, vol. i. p. 10. ED.

‡ Howe's Life, p. 134. ‖ Gazette, No. 2234.

Next came the *preſbyterians*,* "who acknowledge his ma-
"jeſty's princely compaſſion in reſcuing them from their long
"ſufferings, in reſtoring to God the empire over conſcience,
"and publiſhing to the world his royal chriſtian judgment,
"*That conſcience may not be forced*; and his reſolution that
"ſuch force ſhould not be attempted in his reign, which
"they pray may be long." Then followed the *indepen-dents:* "Sir, The great calamity we have been a long time
"under, through the ſevere execution of the penal laws in
"matters of religion, has made us deeply ſenſible of your
"majeſty's princely clemency towards us your diſſenting
"ſubjects, eſpecially ſince in the indulgence vouchſafed
"there are no limitations hindering the enjoyment of it
"with a good conſcience, and that your majeſty publiſheth
"to the world that it has been your conſtant ſenſe and
"opinion, that *conſcience ought not to be conſtrained, nor*
"*people forced in matters of meer religion.*"† About the ſame time was publiſhed the humble and thankful addreſs of the London *quakers*,‖ to this purpoſe, "May it pleaſe the
"king! Though we are not the firſt in this way, yet we

* This addreſs had about thirty hands to it; it was preſented by Mr. *Hurſt*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Slatter*, Mr. *Cox*, Mr. *Roſwell*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Deal*, and Mr. *Reynolds*. It is preſerved at length, with the king's anſwer, in the Biographia Britannica, vol. i. article ALSOP. It was ſuppoſed to have been drawn up by Mr. *Alſop*; whoſe feelings and gratitude, on the free pardon which the king had given to his ſon con-victed of treaſonable practices, may be reckoned to have had great influence in dictating and promoting it. After the ſpirited reſolution mentioned above had been carried, ſome of the miniſters were privately cloſeted with king *James*, and ſome few received particular and perſonal favours: by theſe faſcinating arts they were brought over. And their conduct had its weight in producing ſimilar addreſſes from the country. Part of the king's anſwer deſerves to be recorded as a monument of his inſincerity, and a warning, that kings can degrade themſelves by recourſe to duplicity and falſehood. "Gentlemen," ſaid *James*, "I proteſt before God, and
"I deſire you to tell all manner of people, of all perſuaſions;—that I
"have no other deſign than I have ſpoken of. And, gentlemen, I hope to
"live to ſee the day, when you ſhall as well have magna charta for the
"liberty of conſcience, as you have had for your properties." The mi-niſters went away ſatisfied with the welcome which they had received from
"the pleaſant countenances of the courtiers, and the courteous words,
"looks, and behaviour of his majeſty." Palmer's Nonconformiſts Me-morial, vol. ii. p. 13. ED.

† Gazette, No. 2238. ‖ Sewel, p. 606.

hope

" hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the great favours " we are come to preſent the king our humble, open, and " hearty thanks for. We rejoice to ſee the day that a king " of England ſhould, from his royal ſeat, ſo univerſally " aſſert this royal principle, that *conſcience ought not to be* " *reſtrained, nor people forced for matters of religion.**" The ſeveral addreſſes above-mentioned expreſs their humble dependance on his majeſty's royal promiſe *to ſecure their rights and properties*, and that he will endeavour to engage his two houſes of parliament to concur with him in this good work. Here are no flights of expreſſion, nor promiſes of *obedience without reſerve*, but purely a ſenſe of gratitude for the reſtoration of liberty.†

And though it muſt be allowed that ſome *few diſſenters*, from an exceſs of joy, or it may be, from a ſtrong reſentment againſt their late perſecutors, publiſhed ſome ſevere pamphlets, and gave too much countenance to the meaſures

* There are, it has been juſtly obſerved to the editor, ſome errors in the above extract: viz. the word *royal* inſtead of *glorious*, before *principle*; and the omiſſion of *mere* before *religion*. ED.

† Though Mr. *Neal*'s character of the addreſſes which he quotes, be admitted as juſt, it will not apply to all which the diſſenters preſented on this occaſion: " Some of them," Dr. *Calamy* obſerves, " ran high." But for the ſtrong language in which they were expreſſed, or, for the numbers to which they amounted, an apology may be drawn from the exceſs of joy with which the royal indulgence, though an inſidious meaſure, naturally inſpired thoſe who, for many years, had groaned under the rod of perſecution. It ſhould alſo be conſidered, that but very few, comparatively, think deeply or look far. Preſent, pleaſing appearances miſlead and captivate the generality. There is alſo a propenſity in mankind to follow thoſe who take the lead, and a readineſs to credit and flatter royalty and greatneſs. The diſſenters, however, not without reaſon, incurred cenſure for " a vaſt croud of congratulatory addreſſes complimenting the king " in the higheſt manner, and proteſting what mighty returns of loyalty " they would make:" and were called " the *Pope*'s journeymen to carry " on his work." But theſe cenſures came with an ill grace, as Dr. *Calamy* remarks, " from the church party, who had ſet them the pattern;" who in a moſt luxuriant manner had thanked king *Charles* for diſſolving one of the beſt parliaments; who were mighty forward in the ſurrender of charters; and who, in their fulſome addreſſes, made no other claim to their liberties and civil rights than as conceſſions from the crown, telling the king, " every one of his commands was ſtamped with God's authority." The univerſity of Oxford, in particular, promiſed king *James* to obey him without limitations or reſtrictions. Dr. *Grey* and *Calamy*'s Life of *Howe*, p. 137-8. ED.

of

of the court, as Mr. *Lobb*, *Alſop*, and *Penn* the *quaker*, yet the body of them kept at a diſtance, and, "as thankful as "they were for their liberty, (ſays lord *Halifax*) they were "fearful of the iſſue; neither can any number of conſide- "ration among them be charged with hazarding the pub- "lick ſafety, by falling in with the meaſures of the court, "of which they had as great a dread as their neighbours."* And the lords, in a conference with the houſe of commons upon the *occaſional bill*, in the firſt year of queen *Anne*, ſay, "That in the laſt and greateſt danger the church was ex- "poſed to, the *diſſenters* joined with her, with all imagi- "nable zeal and ſincerity againſt the papiſts their common "enemies, ſhewing no prejudice to the church, but the "utmoſt reſpect to the biſhops when ſent to the Tower."

But as the king and miniſtry carried all before them, the church party were in deſpair, and almoſt at their wits end; they ſaw themſelves on the brink of ruin, imagining that they ſhould be turned out of their freeholds for not reading the king's declaration, and that the *non-conformiſts* would be admitted into their pulpits; as Dr. *Sherlock*, maſter of the Temple, acknowledged in converſation to Mr. *Howe*;† and that, as the papiſts had already invaded the univer- ſities,

* "The churchmen on their ſide," ſays Dr. *Warner*, "did all that "lay in their power to eſtabliſh an union, as the only poſſible means of "their joint ſecurity. They publiſhed pamphlets from time to time, ac- "knowledging their error in driving the preſbyterians to extremities; "confeſſing that they were not enough upon their guard againſt the arti- "fices of the court, and promiſing a very different behaviour on the "re-eſtabliſhment of their affairs. It muſt be owned, that this conduct "was dextrous, and ſenſible, and juſt. It muſt be ſaid, however," ob- ſerves this author, "that they had not attained this wiſdom, till it was "almoſt too late; at leaſt, not during the ſpace of twenty years, and till "by their abſurd principles of paſſive obedience, taught in their pulpits, "and acts of parliament, they had enabled the king to become arbitrary "and tyrannical. It is no leſs true, that an accuſation lies againſt them "of having forgotten this promiſe after the revolution, as they did at the "reſtoration of *Charles* II." Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 639, 40. Ed.

† "Who knows," ſaid Dr. *Sherlock*, "but Mr. *Howe* may be offered "to be *maſter of the Temple?*" Mr. *Howe* replied, "that he ſhould not "baulk an opportunity of more publick ſervice, if offered on terms he had "no juſt reaſon to except againſt." But then he added, "that he would "not meddle with the emolument, otherwiſe than as an hand to convey "it

ſities, they would in a little time overſet the *whole hierarchy*. In this diſtreſs they turned their eyes all around them for relief: they applied to the *diſſenters*, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a *comprehenſion*, and *toleration* in better times, if they would but aſſiſt in delivering them out of their preſent troubles. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that the clergy here in England wrote to the prince of *Orange*, and deſired him to ſend over ſome of the *diſſenting preachers*, whom the violence of the former times had driven into Holland, and to prevail effectually with them to oppoſe any *falſe brethren*, whom the court might have gained over; and that they ſent over very ſolemn aſſurances, which paſſed through his own hands, that *in caſe they ſtood firm now to the common intereſt they would in a better time come into a comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the reſt.* Agreeably to theſe aſſurances, when the reverend Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Mead*, and other refugee miniſters, waited on the prince of *Orange*, to return him thanks for the protection of the country, and to take their leave, his highneſs made them ſome preſents to pay their debts and defray their charges home; and having wiſhed them a good voyage, he adviſed them to be very cautious in their addreſſes; and not to ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into the meaſures of the court ſo far as to open a door for the introducing of popery, by deſiring the taking off of the *penal laws and teſt* as was intended.* He requeſted them alſo to uſe their influence with their brethren to lay them under the ſame reſtraints. His *highneſs* ſent orders likewiſe to monſieur *Dykvelt* his reſident, to preſs the *diſſenters* to ſtand off from the court; and

"it to the legal proprietor." Upon this the doctor, not a little tranſported with joy, roſe up from his ſeat and embraced him; ſaying, "that "had always taken him for that ingenuous honeſt man that he now found "him to be." Mr. *Howe* afterwards told this paſſage to a dignitary of the church, to whom the doctor was well known: ſignifying, how little he was prepared to reply to a ſuppoſition that had not ſo much as once entered into his thoughts before. The gentleman anſwered; "Sir, you "ſay you had not once thought of the caſe, or ſo much as ſuppoſed any "thing like it; but you muſt give me leave to tell you, if you had ſtudied "the caſe ſeven years together, you could not have ſaid any thing more "to the purpoſe, or more to the doctor's ſatisfaction." Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 141, 42. ED.

* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 132.

to

to aſſure them of a full toleration and comprehenſion if poſſible, when the crown ſhould devolve on the princeſs of Orange. Agents were ſent among the *diſſenters* to ſoften their reſentments againſt the church, and to aſſure them, that for the future they would treat them as *brethren*, as will be ſeen in the next chapter.

The diſſenters had it now in their power to diſtreſs the *church party*, and it may be, to have made repriſals, if they would have given way to the revenge, and fallen heartily in with the king's meaſures. They were ſtrongly ſolicited on both ſides; the *king* perferred them to places of profit and truſt, and gave them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and the *churchmen* loaded them with promiſes and aſſurances what great things they would do for them, as ſoon as it ſhould be in their power. But, alas! no ſooner was the danger over than the majority of them forgot their vows in diſtreſs; for when the convocation met the firſt time after the Revolution, they would not hear of a *comprehenſion*, nor ſo much as acknowledge the foreign churches for *their brethren*, ſeeming rather inclined to return to their old methods of perſecution. So little dependance ought to be placed on *high church* promiſes!

But in their preſent circumſtances it was neceſſary to flatter the *non-conformiſts*, and weaken the king's hands, by diſſuading the *diſſenters* from placing any confidence in their *new friends*; for this purpoſe a pamphlet, written by the marquis of *Halifax*, and publiſhed by advice of ſome of the moſt eminent dignitaries of the church, was diſperſed, entitled, *A letter to a diſſenter upon occaſion of his majeſty's late gracious declaration of indulgence*. It begins with ſaying, " that *churchmen* are " not ſurpriſed nor provoked at the *diſſenters* accepting the " offers of eaſe from the late hardſhips they lay under; but " deſired them to conſider, 1. The cauſe they have to ſuſpect " their new friends. And, 2. Their duty in chriſtianity and " prudence not to hazard the publick ſafety by a deſire of " eaſe or revenge.

" With regard to the firſt, the church of Rome (ſays the " author) does not only diſlike your liberty, but, by its prin- " ciples, cannot allow it; they are not able to make good " their vows; nay, it would be a habit of ſin that requires

" abſolution;

" abſolution; you are therefore hugged now only that you " may be the better ſqueezed another time. To come ſo " quick from one extreme to another is ſuch an unnatural " motion, that you ought to be on your guard: the other " day you were ſons of *Belial*, now you are angels of light. " Popery is now the only friend of liberty, and the known " enemy of perſecution. We have been under ſhameful " miſtakes if this can be either true or laſting."

The letter goes on to inſinuate, " that ſome *miniſters* had " been bribed into the meaſures of the court; that they were " under engagements, and impowered to give rewards to " others, where they could not perſuade. Now if theſe or " others ſhould preach up anger and vengeance againſt the " church of England, ought they not rather to be ſuſpected " of corruption, than to act according to judgment. If they " who thank the king for his declaration ſhould be engaged " to juſtify it in point of law, I am perſuaded it is more than " the addreſſers are capable of doing. There is a great dif- " ference between enjoying quietly the advantage of an act " irregularly done by others, and becoming advocates for it; " but frailties are to be excuſed. *Take warning by the mis-* " *take of the church of England, when after the Reſtoration* " *they preſerved ſo long the bitter taſte of your rough uſage to* " *them, that it made them forget their intereſt, and ſacrifice it* " *to their revenge.* If you had now to do with *rigid prelates* " the argument might be fair on your ſide, but ſince the " common danger has ſo laid open the miſtake, that all for- " mer *haughtineſs* towards the diſſenters is for ever extin- " guiſhed, and the ſpirit of perſecution is turned into a ſpirit " of peace, charity, and condeſcenſion, will you not be " moved by ſuch an example? If it be ſaid the church is " only humble when it is out of power; the anſwer is, that " is uncharitable, and an unſeaſonable triumph; beſides, it " is not ſo in fact, for if ſhe would comply with the court, " ſhe could turn all the thunder upon yourſelves, and blow " you off the ſtage with a breath; but ſhe will not be reſcued " by ſuch unjuſtifiable means. You have formerly very " juſtly blamed the church of England for going too far in " her compliance with the court; conclude, therefore, that " you muſt break off your friendſhip, or ſet no bounds to it.

" The

" The church is now convinced of its error, in being too " ſevere to you; the next parliament will be gentle to you; " the next heir is bred in a country famous for indulgence; " there is a general agreement of thinking men, that we " muſt no more cut ourſelves off from foreign proteſtants, " but enlarge our foundations; ſo that all things conſpire " to give you eaſe and ſatisfaction, if you do not too much " anticipate it. To conclude, the ſhort queſtion is, Whe- " ther or no you will join with thoſe who muſt in the end " run the ſame fate with you? If the proteſtants of all ſorts " have been to blame in their behaviour to each other, they " are upon equal terms, and for that very reaſon ought now " to be reconciled." How juſt ſoever the reaſoning of this letter may be, either the author did not know the ſpirit of the *church party*, (as they were called) or he muſt bluſh when he compared it with the facts that followed the Revolution. Twenty thouſand copies were diſperſed about the city and country, and had the deſired effect, the honeſt well-meaning diſſenters making no advantage of the favourable juncture; they entered into no alliance with the papiſts, nor complied with the court meaſures, any further than to accept their own liberty, which they had a natural right to, and of which they ought never to have been deprived.

The war between the king and the church being now declared, each party prepared for their defence; the points in debate were, A GENERAL TOLERATION, and the DISPENSING POWER; the latter of which the *high church party* had connived at during the late reign; but when the edge of it was turned againſt themſelves, (the king having uſed it to break down the fences of the church, by *abrogating the penal laws and teſts, and making an inroad upon the two univerſities*) they exclaimed againſt it as ſubverſive of the whole conſtitution; and forgetting their *late addreſſes*, conteſted this branch of the prerogative. The king had ſecured the opinion of the *judges* in favour of it, but this not giving ſatisfaction, he determined to obtain a parliamentary ſanction. For this purpoſe he publiſhed the following order in the *Gazette*, " that whereas his majeſty was reſolved to uſe his " utmoſt endeavours, that his *declaration of indulgence* might " paſs into a law, he therefore thought fit to review the liſts

" of

" of deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of peace in the ſeveral " counties, that thoſe may be continued who would be ready " to contribute what in them lies towards the accompliſh- " ment of ſo good and neceſſary a work, and ſuch others " added to them, from whom his majeſty may reaſonably " expect the like concurrence and aſſiſtance." Purſuant to this reſolution the king's firſt parliament was diſſolved, and agents were employed to diſpoſe the people to the choice of ſuch new members as might facilitate the court meaſures. The king himſelf went a progreſs round the country* to ingratiate himſelf with the people; and it can hardly be expreſſed (ſays *Eachard*) with what joyful acclamations his majeſty was received, and what loyal acknowledgments were paid him in all places; but in the affair of the teſts (ſays *Burnet*)† there was a viſible coldneſs among the nobility and gentry, though the king behaved in a moſt obliging manner.

When the king returned from his progreſs he began to change the magiſtracy in the ſeveral corporations in England, according to the powers reſerved to the crown in the *new charters*; he turned out ſeveral of the *aldermen* of the city of London, and placed new ones in their room. He cauſed the liſts of lord-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, to be reviewed, and ſuch as would not promiſe to employ their intereſts in the repeal of the penal laws were diſcarded. Many *proteſtant diſſenters* were put into commiſſion on this

*When he came to Cheſter, (it being intimated that it would be expected, and the churchmen having led the way, and divers of the Lancaſhire miniſters coming thither on purpoſe to attend the king) Mr. *Matthew Henry*, and Mr. *Harvey*, miniſters of another diſſenting congregation in that city, with the heads of their ſocieties, joined in an addreſs of thanks to him, not for aſſuming a diſpenſing power, but for their eaſe, quiet, and liberty under his protection. They preſented it to him at the biſhop's palace in the abbey court; and he told them he wiſhed *they had a Magna Charta for their liberty*. They did not promiſe to aſſiſt in taking away the teſts, but only to live quiet and peaceable lives. This, however, was ſeverely cenſured by ſome of their brethren. But the expreſſions of thankfulneſs for their liberty were very different from the high flights and promiſes of *Sir Richard Lieving*, the recorder of Cheſter at that time; who, in a ſpeech to king *James*, on his entering into the city, told him, " That the " corporation was his majeſty's creature, and depended on the will of its " creator; and that the ſole intimation of his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould have " with them the force of a fundamental law." Mr. *Thompſon*'s MS. collections under the word Cheſter. ED.

† Page 143.

occaſion,

occaſion, in hopes that they would procure ſuch members for the next parliament as ſhould give them a legal right to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favour; but when the king preſſed it upon the lord-mayor of London, and the new aldermen, who were chiefly *diſſenters*, they made no reply.

The reaſon of the *diſſenters'* backwardneſs in an affair that ſo nearly concerned them, and in which they have ſince expreſſed ſo ſtrong a deſire, was *their concern for the proteſtant religion, and their averſion to popery*. The king was not only a *Roman catholick*, but a *bigot*; and it was evident, that the plucking up the fences at this time muſt have made a breach at which popery would enter. If the king had been a proteſtant, the caſe had been different, becauſe *papiſts* could not take the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy* to a prince who ſtood excommunicated by the church of Rome; but now there would be no obſtacle, or if there was, the king would diſpenſe with the law in their favour; the *diſſenters* therefore were afraid, that if they ſhould give into his majeſty's meaſures, though they might ſecure their liberty for the preſent, it would ſtand on a precarious foundation; for if popery came in triumphant, it would not only ſwallow up the church of England, but the whole proteſtant intereſt. They choſe therefore to truſt their liberty to the mercy of their proteſtant brethren, rather than receive a legal ſecurity for it under a popiſh government.

According to this reſolution biſhop *Burnet* obſerves,* that *Sir John Shorter*, the new lord-mayor, and a *proteſtant diſſenter*, thought fit to qualify himſelf for his office according to law, though the *teſt* was ſuſpended, and the king had ſignified to the mayor that he was at liberty, and might uſe what form of worſhip he thought beſt in *Guildhall*, which was deſigned as an experiment to engage the preſbyterians to make the firſt change from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, concluding, that if a *preſbyterian mayor* did this one year, it would be eaſy for a *popiſh mayor* to do it the next; but his lordſhip referred the caſe to thoſe clergymen who had the government of the dioceſe of London during the biſhop's ſuſpenſion, who aſſured his lordſhip it was contrary to law; ſo that though the lord-mayor went ſometimes to the meetings of

* Burnet, p. 145.

diſſenters,

diſſenters, he went frequently to church, and behaved with more decency (ſays his lordſhip) than could have been expected. This diſobliged the king to a very high degree, inſomuch that he ſaid, *The diſſenters were an ill-natured ſort of people that could not be gained.*

This oppoſition to the king heightened his reſentments, and puſhed him on to raſh and violent meaſures: if he had proceeded by ſlow degrees, and ſecured one conqueſt before he had attempted another, he might have ſucceeded, but he gave himſelf up to the fury of his *prieſts*, who adviſed him to make haſte with what he intended. This was diſcovered by a letter from the *jeſuits* from Liege to thoſe of Friburgh, which ſays, the king wiſhed they could furniſh him with *more prieſts* to aſſiſt him in the converſion of the nation, which his majeſty was reſolved to bring about, or die a martyr in the attempt. He ſaid, *he muſt make haſte that he might accompliſh it in his life-time*;* and when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an *heretick*, he anſwered, *God will provide an heir*; which argued either a ſtrong faith, or a formed deſign of impoſing *one* on the nation. Father *Petre* was the king's chief miniſter, and one of his majeſty's privy council, a bold and forward man, who ſtuck at nothing to ruin the church. The king deſigned him for the archbiſhoprick of York, now vacant, and for a *cardinal's cap*,† if he could prevail with the pope; for this purpoſe the earl of *Caſtlemain* was ſent ambaſſador to Rome; and a *nuncio* was ſent from thence into England, to whom his majeſty paid all poſſible reſpect, and gave an audience at Windſor, though it was contrary to law; all commerce with the court of Rome having been declared high treaſon by the ſtatute of king *Henry* VIII. but the king ſaid *he was above law*; and becauſe the duke of *Somerſet* would not officiate in his place at the ceremony he was diſmiſſed from all his employments.

It was ſtrange infatuation in king *James* to put a ſlight on the ancient nobility, and turn moſt of his ſervants out of their places becauſe they were *proteſtants:* this weakened his intereſt, and threw a vaſt weight into the oppoſite ſcale. Indeed it was impoſſible to diſguiſe his majeſty's deſign of introducing popery,‖ and therefore *Parker*, biſhop of Oxford,

* Burnet, p. 135. † Ibid. p. 168. ‖ Ibid. p. 178.

was

was employed to juſtify it, who publiſhed a book, entitled, *Reaſons for abrogating the Teſt impoſed on all Members of Parliament*; which muſt refer to the renouncing *tranſubſtantiation, and the idolatry of the church of Rome*; becauſe the members of parliament had no other qualification impoſed upon them beſides the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*. The biſhop ſaid much to excuſe the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. *His reaſons* were licenſed by the earl of *Sunderland*, and the ſtationer was commanded not to print any anſwer to them; but Dr. *Burnet*, then in Holland, gave them a very ſmart and ſatyrical reply, which quite ruined the biſhop's reputation.

But his majeſty's chief dependance was upon his *army*, which he was caſting into a popiſh mould; *proteſtant officers* were caſhiered; Portſmouth and Hull, the two principal ſea-ports of England, were in popiſh hands; and the majority of the garriſons were of the ſame religion. Ireland was an inexhauſtible ſeminary, from whence England was to be ſupplied with a catholick army; an Iriſh *Roman-catholick* (ſays *Welwood*) was a moſt welcome gueſt at Whitehall; and they came over in ſhoals. Over and above compleat regiments of papiſts, there was ſcarce a troop or company in the army wherein ſome of that religion were not inſerted, by expreſs orders from court. Upon the whole, the affairs of the nation were drawing to a criſis; and it was believed, that what the king could not accompliſh by the gentler methods of intereſt and perſuaſion he would eſtabliſh by his ſovereign power. The *army* at Hounſlow was to awe the city and parliament; and if they proved refractory, an Iriſh maſſacre, or ſome other deſperate attempt, might poſſibly decide the fate of the nation.

About this time died the Rev. Mr. *David Clarkſon*, B.D. born at Bradford in Yorkſhire, Feb. 1621-2, and fellow of Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was tutor to Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury. Dr. *Bates* in his funeral ſermon gives him the character of a man of ſincere godlineſs and true holineſs: humility and modeſty were his diſtinctive characters; and his learning was ſuperior to moſt of his time, as appears by his *treatiſe of liturgies*, *his primi-*

tive

tive epiſcopacy, his practical divinity of papiſts deſtructive to men's ſouls; and his volume of ſermons, printed after his death. He was ſometime miniſter of Mortlake in Surry, but after his ejectment he gave himſelf up to reading and meditation, ſhifting from one place of obſcurity to another, 'till the times ſuffered him to appear openly; he was then choſen ſucceſſor to the reverend Dr. *John Owen*,* in the paſtoral office to his congregation. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he was a divine of ſolid judgment, of healing moderate principles, of great acquaintance with the fathers, of great miniſterial abilities, and of a godly upright life. Great was his ſolemnity and reverence in prayer; and the method of his ſermons was clear, deep, and inſtructive. His death was unexpected, though (as he declared) it was no ſurpriſe to him, for he was entirely reſigned to the will of God, and deſired not to outlive his uſefulneſs. This good man, (ſays Dr. *Bates*) like holy *Simeon*, had Chriſt in his arms, and departed in peace, to ſee the ſalvation of God above, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age.

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb* was born in Leiceſterſhire, and educated firſt in Magdalen-hall, Oxon, and after in Emanuel college, Cambridge, from whence he removed to Trinity college, of which he was fellow. He came to London in 1647, and was ſoon after miniſter of Ludgate pariſh, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with ſome trouble after his ejectment, but being received into the family of the counteſs dowager of *Exeter*, daughter of the earl of *Bridgwater*, he was covered from his enemies. This honourable and virtuous lady was a comfort and ſupport to the nonconformiſt miniſters throughout the reign of king *Charles* II. Her reſpects to the doctor were peculiar, and her favours extraordinary, for which he made the beſt returns he was

* This is an inaccuracy: he was choſen copaſtor with Dr. *Owen*, July 1682, a year before the doctor's death. To the above account of Mr. *Clarkſon*, it is not improper to add, that his excellent pupil, biſhop *Tillotſon*, always preſerved that reſpect for him which he had contracted while he was under his tuition. His book on "Dioceſan Epiſcopacy" ſhews him, ſays Mr. *Granger*, to have been a man of great reading in church hiſtory. In his converſation, a comely gravity, mixed with innocent pleaſantneſs, were attractive of reſpect and love. He was of a calm temper, not ruffled with paſſions, but gentle, and kind, and good; his breaſt was the temple of peace. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 451. Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 4. And Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 310, 8vo. Ed.

able. The *doctor* was a learned man, an able divine, a ſerious affectionate preacher, of unſpotted morals, and a nonconformiſt upon moderate principles. He died of a cancerous humour, that put him to the moſt acute pain, which he bore with invincible patience and reſignation till the 27th March 1687, when he died in the counteſs of *Exeter*'s houſe, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age.*

Mr. *John Collins* was educated in Cambridge, New-England, and returned from thence in the times of the civil war, became a celebrated preacher in London, having a ſweet voice, and a moſt affectionate manner in the pulpit. He was chaplain to general *Monk* when he marched out of Scotland into England, but was not an incumbent any where when the act of uniformity took place. Being of the independant denomination he ſucceeded Mr. *Mallory* as paſtor of a very conſiderable congregation of that perſuaſion, and was one of the Merchant Lecturers at Pinner's-hall. He was a man mighty in the ſcriptures; of an excellent natural temper; very charitable to all good men, without regard to parties; and died univerſally lamented,§ December 3, 1687.

[It ſeems to have eſcaped Mr. *Neal*'s attention, to notice, at this period, two eminent perſons, who died in the year 1686, *Pearſon*, biſhop of Cheſter, and *Fell*, biſhop of Oxford.

Dr. *John Pearſon*, born in 1612, was ſucceſſively maſter of Jeſus and Trinity colleges, in Cambridge; and alſo Margaret profeſſor of divinity in that univerſity. He had the

* It is a proof what different colouring a character derives from the diſpoſitions and prejudices of thoſe whoſe pen draws it, that Dr. *Sherlock*, who ſeems to have received ſome provocation from Dr. *Jacomb*, repreſents him "as the prettieſt, nonſenſical, trifling gooſe-cap that ever ſet pen to "paper." This deſcription is contradicted by the nature of his library; if the choice of books indicate the turn of the mind. He left an incomparable collection of the moſt valuable books in all kinds of learning, and in various languages, which ſold for 1300*l.* Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 307. Ed.

§ When, during his illneſs, Mr. *Mead* affectionately prayed for his recovery at the Pinner's-hall lecture, ſcarcely a dry eye was to be ſeen through the numerous auditory. Mr. *Collins* printed one ſermon in the "Morning "Exerciſes," vol. iii. with the ſignature N. N. on this queſtion, "How the "religious of a nation are the ſtrength of it?" Mather's hiſtory of New-England, b. iv. p. 200; where may be ſeen a Latin epitaph for him. Ed.

living

living of St. Clement's, Eaſtcheap, and was conſecrated biſhop of Cheſter, Feb. 9, 1672. He was a great divine, a profound and various ſcholar, eminently read in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory and antiquity, and an exact chronologiſt. He united with his learning, clearneſs of judgment and ſtrength of reaſon. As a preacher, he was rather inſtructive than pathetic. The character of the clergyman was adorned by an excellent temper, diſtinguiſhed humility, primitive piety, and ſpotleſs manners: as a biſhop, he was deemed too remiſs and eaſy in his epiſcopal function. "He was," ſays biſhop *Burnet*, "a "ſpeaking inſtance of what a great man could fall to: for "his memory went from him ſo entirely, that he became a "child ſome years before he died." His late preferment to the epiſcopacy, and the great decay of his faculties, which it is to be ſuppoſed came on gradually, may account for his remiſſneſs in that ſtation. His works were few, but of great reputation. The chief were, "a vindication of *St. Ignatius'* epiſtles," in latin; and "an expoſition of the apoſtles' creed:" eſteemed one of the moſt finiſhed pieces in theology in our language. The ſubſtance of it was originally delivered in ſermons to his pariſhioners. This work has gone through twelve or thirteen editions. "It is itſelf," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "*a body of divinity*, but not *a body without a ſpirit*. The "ſtile of it is juſt; the periods are for the moſt part well "turned; the method is very exact; and it is in general free "from thoſe errors which are too often found in theologi-"cal ſyſtems." Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. iii. 12mo. p. 109-10. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 251, 8vo. and Richardſon's Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 779.

Dr. *John Fell* was the ſon of Dr. *Samuel Fell*, ſometime the dean of Chriſt-church, Oxford: he received his claſſical education in the free-ſchool at Thame, in Oxfordſhire: at eleven years of age he was made ſtudent of Chriſt-church, in 1636; and in 1643, graduated maſter of arts. About this time he took arms, within the garriſon of Oxford, in the king's cauſe, and was made an enſign. In 1648, when he was in holy orders, he was diſplaced by the parliamentarian viſitors; from that year, till the reſtoration, he ſpent his time in retirement and ſtudy; obſerving the devotions of the church of England with other oppreſſed royaliſts. After

the reſtoration he was inſtalled canon, and then dean of Chriſt-church, Nov. 30, 1660, being then doctor in divinity, and one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. In the years 1667, 1668, and 1669, he was vice-chancellor of the univerſity; and Feb. 6th, 1675, he was conſecrated biſhop of Oxford. Soon after his preferment he rebuilt the palace of Cuſedon, belonging to the ſee. He was a munificent benefactor to his college, and raiſed its reputation by his diſcipline. He ſettled on it no leſs than ten exhibitions; and the beſt rectories belonging to it were his purchaſe. He expended great ſums in embelliſhing and adorning the univerſity of Oxford. Learning was greatly indebted to his patronage and munificence. He liberally improved the preſs of the univerſity; and the books that came from the Sheldonian theatre perpetuate, in this reſpect, his praiſe. For many years he annually publiſhed a book, generally a claſſic author, to which he wrote a preface and notes, and preſented it to the ſtudents of his houſe as a new-year's gift: amongſt theſe was an edition of the Greek Teſtament, in 12mo, 1675; which Dr. *Harwood* pronounces to be "a very valuable and excellent edition; that does honour to the biſhop, becauſe it "is upon the whole a correct book, and exhibits the various readings very faithfully." His edition of the works of *Cyprian* affords alſo a conſpicuous proof of his induſtry and learning. But he did not lay out his fortune in publick acts of ſplendid munificence only: the private charities of life partook of his beneficence. To the widow he was a huſband, to the orphan a father, and to poor children a tender parent, furniſhing them with inſtruction, and placing them out in life. "He was in all reſpects a moſt exemplary "man, though (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) a little too much heated "in the matter of our diſputes with the diſſenters. But, as "he was among the firſt of our clergy that apprehended the "deſign of bringing in popery, ſo he was one of the moſt "zealous againſt it." It is a deduction from the merit of his character, as the patron of learning, that he was not well affected to the royal ſociety: and it is to be regretted, that he was not friendly to that excellent man archbiſhop *Tillotſon*; which was, probably, owing to a ſenſe of his own ſufferings before the reſtoration: for he was not ſuperior to a party

ſpirit.

ſpirit. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 602-5. Richardſon de Præſulibus, p. 548. Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 100. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 252. Britiſh Biogr. vol. v. p. 11; and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 100.]

CHAP. II.*

From King JAMES's *Declaration for* Liberty *of* Conſcience, *to the Act of* Toleration *in the Reign of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

—1688—

THOUGH the projects of the *Roman-catholicks* were ripe for execution, there was one circumſtance which ſpread a black cloud over all their attempts, which was the near proſpect of a *proteſtant ſucceſſor* to the crown: this was the only hope of the proteſtant cauſe, and the terror of the papiſts. To remove this impediment, his majeſty firſt attempted to convert his eldeſt daughter MARY, princeſs of *Orange*, to the *Roman-catholick* religion, or at leaſt to conſent to the making way for it, by taking off the *penal laws*. To accompliſh this, his majeſty wrote an obliging letter to his daughter, reciting the motives of his own converſion; which were, the "*great devotion of the church of Rome; the adorn-*
"*ing their churches; their acts of charity, which were greater*
"*than the proteſtants could boaſt of; the numbers who retired*
"*from the world, and devoted themſelves to a religious life.*† "He was convinced that Chriſt had left an *infallibility* in the "church, which the apoſtles acknowledged to be in St. *Peter*, "*Acts* xv. It was the authority of the church (ſays he) that "declared the ſcriptures to be *canonical*; and certainly, they "who declared them could only interpret them, and where-"ever this *infallibility* was, there muſt be a clear ſucceſſion, "which could be no where but in the church of Rome, the "church of England not pretending to *infallibility*, though "ſhe acted as if ſhe did, by perſecuting thoſe who differed

* In the author's edition this is chapter XII. of the IVth volume.

† Burnet, p. 149, 155, vol. iii. Edin. Ed.

"from

" from her, as well proteſtant diſſenters as papiſts; but he " could ſee no reaſon why *diſſenters* might not ſeparate from " the church of England, as well as the church of England " had done from that of Rome."

The Princeſs anſwered the king's letter with great reſpect; " ſhe affirmed the *right of private judgment*, according to the " apoſtle's rule, of *proving all things, and holding faſt that* " *which is good.* She ſaw clearly from the ſcriptures, that " *ſhe muſt not believe by the faith of another, but according as* " *things appeared to herſelf.* She confeſſed, if there was an " *infallibility* in the church, all other controverſies muſt fall " before it, but that it was not yet agreed where it was " lodged, whether in a *pope* or a *general council*, or *both*; and " ſhe deſired to know in whom the *infallibility* reſted when " there were two or three popes at a time, acting one againſt " another; for certainly the ſucceſſion muſt then be diſor- " dered. She maintained the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of " reading the holy ſcriptures; for though *faith* was above " reaſon, it propoſed nothing contradictory to it. St. *Paul* " ordered his epiſtles to be read in all the churches; and he " ſays in one place, *I write as to wiſe men*, JUDGE YE WHAT " I SAY; and if they might judge an apoſtle, much more any " other teacher. She excuſed the church of England's per- " ſecuting the diſſenters in the beſt manner ſhe could; and " ſaid the reformers had brought things to as great per- " fection as thoſe corrupt ages were capable of; and ſhe did " not ſee how the *church* was to blame, becauſe the laws " were made by the *ſtate*, and for civil crimes, and that the " grounds of the diſſenters leaving the church were differ- " ent from thoſe for which they had ſeparated from the " church of Rome." It was impoſſible for the *princeſs* to clear up this objection. But biſhop *Burnet** adds very juſtly, that the ſeverities of the church againſt the diſſenters were urged with a very ill grace, *by one of the church of Rome*, that has delighted herſelf ſo often by being as it were bathed with the blood of thoſe they call hereticks. Upon the whole it appeared, that her *highneſs* was immoveably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the leaſt proſpect of her departing from it.

* Page 156.

At

At the ſame time his majeſty attempted the prince of *Orange*, for which purpoſe he employed one Mr. *James Steward*, a Scotch lawyer, who wrote ſeveral letters upon this argument to penſionary *Fagel*, in whom the prince placed an entire confidence.* The *penſionary* neglected his letters for ſome time, but at length it being induſtriouſly reported, that the ſilence of the *prince* was a tacit conſent, the *penſionary* laid all his letters before his highneſs, who commiſſioned the penſionary to draw up ſuch an anſwer as might diſcover his true intentions and ſenſe of things.

The anſwer was dated from the Hague, *Nov.* 4, 1687, and begins with aſſurances of the prince and princeſs's duty to the king; and ſince Mr. *Steward* had given him to underſtand, that his letters were written with the king's knowledge and allowance,† the penſionary aſſures him, in the name of their HIGHNESSES, that it was their opinion, that "*no chriſtian ought to be perſecuted for his conſcience, or be ill uſed becauſe he differs from the eſtabliſhed religion;* and therefore they agreed that the papiſts in Scotland and Ireland ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion in private as they had in Holland; and *as to proteſtant diſſenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of their religion without any trouble or hindrance*; and their *highneſſes* were ready to concur to the ſettling it, and giving their guarantee to protect and defend it. *If his majeſty deſired their concurrence in repealing the penal laws, they were ready to give it*, provided the laws by which *Roman-catholicks* were excluded from ſitting in both houſes of parliament, and from all employments eccleſiaſtical, civil and military, remained in force; and likewiſe thoſe other laws which ſecure the proteſtant religion againſt all attempts of the *Roman-catholicks*; but they could not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws which tended only to ſecure the proteſtant religion, ſuch as the *teſts*, becauſe they imported no more than a deprivation from publick employments, which could do them no great harm. If the number of the papiſts were inconſiderable, it was not reaſonable to inſiſt upon it; and if thoſe few that pretend to publick employments would do their party ſo much injury as

* Burnet, p. 165-6. † Welwood's Memoirs, p. 218.

"not

" not to be content with the repeal of the *penal laws*, unleſs " they could get into offices of truſt, their ambition only was " to be blamed."* This letter was carried by Mr. *Steward* to the king, and read in the cabinet council, but it had no effect, only the king ordered Mr. *Steward* to write back, that *he would have all or nothing*. However, the *church party* were ſatisfied with the prince's reſolution to maintain the teſts; the *proteſtant diſſenters* were pleaſed with their *highneſſes'* declaration for the repeal of the penal laws *ſo far as concerned themſelves*, and they placed an entire confidence in their word. The *lay-papiſts* and *ſeculars* preſſed the king to accept of the repeal of ſo much of the penal laws as was offered, and blamed the ambition of the jeſuits and courtiers, who, rather than abate any thing, would leave them expoſed to the ſeverity of the law when a freedom was offered. At length the *penſionary*'s letter was printed by allowance of the *prince*, and diſperſed over England, which provoked the king to ſuch a degree, that he ſpoke indecently of his *highneſs* to all the foreign miniſters, and reſolved to ſhew him the ſevereſt marks of his diſpleaſure.

The firſt project of gaining the *prince* having failed, his majeſty went upon another, which, had it ſucceeded, muſt effectually have defeated the *proteſtant ſucceſſion*; and that was, *providing the nation with an heir of his own body by the preſent queen*, though for many years ſhe had been reckoned incapable of having children. This was firſt whiſpered among the courtiers, but was ſoon after confirmed by proclamation in the *Gazette* of *Jan.* 2d and 26th, 1687-8, in words to this effect, " That it had pleaſed Almighty God to " give his majeſty apparent hopes, and good aſſurance, of " having iſſue by his royal conſort the queen, who, through " God's great goodneſs, was now with child;"‡ wherefore his majeſty appoints, that on the 15th of *January*, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and on the 29th in all other places of England; and on the 29th of *January* and 19th of *February* in all places in Scotland, publick thankſgiving and ſolemn prayer be offered up to God on this occaſion; and a form of prayer was drawn up accordingly by the biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*; in

* Burnet, p. 167. ‡ Gazette, No. 2309, and 2316.

which

which were theſe expreſſions: "Bleſſed be that good Provi-
"dence that has vouchſafed us freſh hopes of royal iſſue by
"our gracious queen *Mary*; ſtrengthen her, we beſeech
"thee, and perfect what thou haſt begun. Command thy
"holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her
"from all dangers and evil accidents, that what ſhe hath
"conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our
"ſovereign lord the king, the further eſtabliſhment of his
"crown, the happineſs and welfare of the whole kingdom,
"and the glory of thy great name, *&c.*"* This ſtruck all the proteſtant part of the nation with conſternation, except a few *ranting tories*, whoſe religion was at the ſervice of the king, whenſoever he ſhould call for it. The *conception* was looked upon by the jeſuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the queen had made to the lady of *Loretto:* they propheſied it would certainly be a *prince*; while the proteſtants ſighed in ſecret, and ſuſpected a fraud; the grounds of which ſuſpicion the hiſtorians of theſe times have related at large.

The king, emboldened with the proſpect of a *popiſh ſucceſſor*, inſtead of venturing firſt upon a parliament, publiſhed another declaration for liberty of conſcience, *April* 27, in higher ſtrains, and more advantageous to the papiſts than the former; the ſubſtance of it was as follows:

"JAMES REX,

"OUR conduct has been ſuch in all times as ought to
"have perſuaded the world, that we are firm and conſtant
"to our reſolutions; yet, that eaſy people may not be abuſed
"by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to de-
"clare, that our intentions are not changed ſince the 4th of
"*April*, 1687, when we iſſued our *declaration for liberty of*
"*conſcience in the following terms*;"§ [Here the declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] "Ever ſince we
"granted the indulgence, we have made it our care to ſee it
"preſerved without diſtinction, as we are encouraged to do
"daily by multitudes of addreſſes, and many other aſſurances
"we receive from our ſubjects of all perſuaſions, as teſtimo-
"nies of their ſatisfaction and duty; the effects of which we

* Calamy's Abridgments, p. 382. § Gazette, No. 2342.

"doubt

" doubt not but the next parliament will ſhew, and that it
" will not be in vain that we have reſolved to uſe our utmoſt
" endeavours to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience on ſuch juſt
" and equal foundations as will render it unalterable, and ſe-
" cure to all people the free exerciſe of their religion for
" ever, by which future ages may reap the benefit of what
" is ſo undoubtedly for the general good of the whole king-
" dom. It is ſuch a ſecurity we deſire without the burthen
" and conſtraint of oaths and teſts, which have unhappily
" been made by ſome governments, but could never ſup-
" port any. Nor could men be advanced by ſuch means to
" offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of
" ſervices, fidelity, and merit. We muſt conclude, that not
" only good chriſtians will join in this, but whoever is con-
" cerned for the wealth and power of the nation. It would,
" perhaps, prejudice ſome of our neighbours, who might
" loſe part of thoſe vaſt advantages they now enjoy, if liberty
" of conſcience were ſettled in theſe kingdoms, which are
" above all others moſt capable of improvements, and of
" commanding the trade of the world. In purſuance of this
" great work *we have been forced to make many changes both*
" *of civil and military officers throughout our dominions*, not
" thinking any ought to be employed in our ſervice who
" will not contribute towards the eſtabliſhing the peace and
" greatneſs of their country, which we moſt earneſtly deſire, as
" unbiaſſed men may ſee by the whole conduct of our govern-
" ment, and by the condition of our fleet and of our armies,
" which, with good management, ſhall conſtantly be the ſame,
" and greater, if the ſafety or honour of the nation require
" it. We recommend theſe conſiderations to all our ſub-
" jects, and that they will reflect on their eaſe and happineſs,
" now that above three years it has pleaſed God to permit
" us to reign over theſe kingdoms, we have not appeared to
" be that prince our enemies would make the world afraid
" of; our chief aim having been not to be the oppreſſor,
" but father of our people, of which we can give no better
" evidence, than by conjuring them to lay aſide private ani-
" moſities, as well as groundleſs jealouſies, and to chooſe
" ſuch members of parliament as may do their parts to finiſh
" what we have begun, for the advantage of the monarchy

" over

"over which Almighty God has placed us, being reſolved "to call a parliament that ſhall meet in November next at "fartheſt."

This declaration was publiſhed in the uſual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine ſervice in all churches and chapels in and about London, May 20th and 27th; and in all the reſt of England and Wales on the 3d and 10th of June following, upon penalty of being proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion.* For this purpoſe the biſhops were required to cauſe it to be diſtributed throughout their reſpective dioceſes: ſome or them (ſays *Burnet*) carried their compliance to a ſhameful pitch, offering up their allegiance to the king without limitation or reſerve. Dr. *Crew*, biſhop of Durham, *Barlow* of Lincoln,† *Cartwright* of Cheſter, *Wood* of Lichfield and Coventry, *Watſon* of St. David's, *Sprat* of Rocheſter, and *Parker* of Oxford, went all the lengths of the court, and promoted addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty in the moſt exalted language, for the promiſe he had made in his late declaration, *to maintain the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed*;§ though nothing was more evident than his deſign to ſubvert it. An addreſs came from the clergy of Cheſter, juſtifying the declaration, as iſſuing

* Gazette, No. 2344.

† Dr. *Grey* thinks that biſhop *Barlow* could not be ſo forward a promoter of ſuch addreſſes, becauſe that in a letter to one of his clergy, dated May 29th, he informed him, that the clergy in London generally refuſed to read the declaration: and added, "as to myſelf, I ſhall neither perſuade nor "diſſuade you, but leave it to your prudence and conſcience, whether you "will or not read it. But only this I ſhall adviſe, that if, after ſerious con-"ſideration, you find that you cannot read it but *reluctante vel dubitante* "*conſcientia*, in that caſe to read it will be your ſin, and you to blame for "doing it." Notwithſtanding, biſhop *Barlow* wrote ſo candidly on the matter, in this inſtance, he ſent up a letter of thanks to king *James* for his *firſt* declaration, publiſhed reaſons for reading the *ſecond*, and aſſerted and vindicated, in an elaborate tract, the regal power of diſpenſing with penal laws. This biſhop was not a conſiſtent character; he was timid and complying, accommodating himſelf to the times, and ready to ſide with the ſtrongeſt. At one time he was a ſeeming friend to the papiſts, then a diſtinguiſhed writer againſt popery. Now an enemy to the duke of *York*; then ever expreſſing his ſubmiſſion to king *James*; and afterwards taking the oaths to his ſucceſſors. Biogr. Britan. vol. i. article *Barlow*. Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 305. Ed.

§ Gazette, No. 2374.

from

from the prerogative of the *king's ſupremacy*, and inſiſting that the clergy were obliged by what is called *ſtatute law*, *the rubrick of their liberty*, to publiſh what was required by the king, or their biſhop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the diſobedience of ſome of that bench, who, though they tenderly promiſed the *diſſenters* ſomething, yet refuſed to do their part about the *declaration*, leſt they ſhould be parties to it; which reaſon we with due modeſty eſteem inſufficient. *Herbert Croft*, biſhop of Hereford, publiſhed his reaſons for reading the declaration, from that paſſage of ſcripture, "*Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man for the* "*Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme*, &c. "Now the king commanding it to be read, without re- "quiring our aſſent, conſent, or allowance, I cannot ſee (ſays "the biſhop) how it can be refuſed. If it be ſaid, this is to "admit of a *diſpenſing power*, yet it is not contrary to the "word of God. If the king ſhould aver his diſpenſing "power to be inherent in the crown, and will uſe it as he "pleaſes, I ſhould beſeech him not to exert it in ſo high a "manner; but after this, what have biſhops to do but ſub- "mit, ſince here is no doctrine affirmed, but only a declara- "tion of matter of fact."

However, the majority of the clergy were of different ſentiments; eighteen biſhops, and the chief of their clergy, refuſed to publiſh the *declaration*, ſo that it was read (ſays *Burnet**) only in ſeven churches in London; and in about two hundred all over England.† The *commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs* ſent out citations by the king's order,§ requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to ſend in liſts of all who had obeyed, and of thoſe who had not obeyed the order of council; together with the places where it had been neglected.‡ Moſt of the biſhops diſobeyed, and generouſly undertook to ſtand in the gap, and ſcreen the inferior clergy

* Page 178.

† Some who read it on the firſt Sunday, changed their minds before the ſecond. Others declared in their ſermons, that, though they obeyed the order, they did not approve the declaration. And one, more pleaſantly than gravely, told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and ſtopped till they all went out, and then read it to the walls. Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 178. Ed.

§ Burnet, p. 184. ‡ Gazette, No. 2364. from

from profecution: ſeven of them met at Lambeth, and after conſultation ſigned an addreſs, in behalf of themſelves and ſeveral of their abſent brethren, ſetting forth, "that they "were not averſe to the publiſhing *his majeſty's declaration* "for want of duty to his majeſty, or due tenderneſs towards "*diſſenters*, in relation to whom (ſay they) we are willing "to come to ſuch a temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the "matter comes to be conſidered and ſettled in parliament; "but the *declaration*, being founded on ſuch a *diſpenſing* "*power* as may at preſent ſet aſide all laws eccleſiaſtical and "civil, appears to us illegal; and did ſo to the parliament in "1672; and it is a point of ſuch great conſequence, that we "cannot make ourſelves party to it, ſo far as the reading "of it in the church in time of divine ſervice will amount "to, and diſtributing it all over the kingdom."* Signed by *Sancroft* archbiſhop of Canterbury,‡ *Lloyde* biſhop of St. Aſaph, *Kenn* of Bath and Wells, *Turner* of Ely, *Lake* of Chicheſter, *White* of Peterborough, and *Trelawny* of Briſtol.

The king was ſtartled at the addreſs, and anſwered, in a very angry tone; "*I have heard of this before, but did not be-* "*lieve it; I did not expect this from the church of England,* "*eſpecially from ſome of you; if I change my mind you ſhall hear*

* Burnet, p. 176. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 184, 6th ed.

‡ Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, in this inſtance, acted contrary to what had been his conduct and avowed principle in the former reign. For when, in 1681, Charles II. publiſhed his declaration to ſatisfy his people about diſſolving his parliament, *Sancroft* moved that an order ſhould be added to it, requiring the clergy to publiſh it in all the churches in England. This was looked on (ſays *Burnet*) as a moſt pernicious precedent, by which the clergy were made the heralds to publiſh the king's declarations, that might, in ſome inſtances, come to be not only indecent, but miſchievous. But this, whatever was now his judgment, had been his decided opinion. For, on the preſent occaſion, Dr. *Cartwright*, the biſhop of Cheſter, who had been one of the prebendaries of Durham, it appears, from a paper among the MSS. of Mr. *Talents*, of Shrewſbury, which fell into the hands of Mr. *Archer*, of Tunbridge, could produce, and did ſhew to the king, a reviſed copy of the liturgy in 1661, given by biſhop *Coſins* to the library at Durham; in which *Sancroft* had added to the rubrick, where it was ſaid, "Nothing is to be read in churches but by the *biſhop*'s order, or the *king's* "*order*." Yet, when king *James* commanded a declaration in favour of the diſſenters to be read, this archbiſhop was amongſt the firſt to oppoſe it, in contradiction to the clauſe which he had dictated, and the example he had given. Calamy's Hiſtory of his own Life, vol. i. p. 173-6. ED.

"*from*

"*from me*; *if not*, *I expect my commands ſhall be obeyed.*"* And added, that *they ſhould be made to feel what it was to diſobey him.* The ſix biſhops who brought the addreſs replied, *The will of God be done.*

Let the reader now judge, whether the ſlaviſh doctrine of *non-reſiſtance* and *unlimited obedience*, which the *high church party* had been preaching up for above twenty years as the doctrine of the church of England, had not brought the nation to the very verge of ruin. A doctrine deſtructive of all law, and of the ſafety of ſociety, and which has been fatal to many *crowned heads.* If the king had not relied on the *flattering addreſſes* of theſe men, under which it ſeems there was a *reſerve*, he would have ſtopt ſhort, and taken other meaſures; but he did not perceive the *mine* till it was ſprung, and blew up his whole government at once. This was the *criſis* upon which the fate of the nation depended.

While the king was deliberating what to do with the biſhops, he was for ſome time in great perplexity; ſeveral of the popiſh nobility preſſed him to retreat; but at length, at the inſtigation of father *Petre*, Mr. *Lob*, and ſome others, he ordered the biſhops to be proſecuted; and they, refuſing to enter into bonds for their appearance at the King's-Bench bar, on account of their peerage, were ſent to the Tower by water,† June 8, but were diſcharged within a week, upon entering into bonds for ſmall ſums, to anſwer to the *information* that day fortnight. On the 29th of June they were brought to the King's-Bench bar in Weſtminſter-hall, at-

* Burnet, p. 177.

† The biſhops, as they took boat, looked all very cheerfully: and the people flocked round them in great numbers, to condole with them, and aſk their bleſſing. When they were confined, ten non-conformiſt miniſters viſited them. Which the king took very heinouſly, and ſent for four of them, and reprimanded them. Their anſwer was, "that they could not "but adhere to the biſhops, as men conſtant and firm to the proteſtant faith." Even the ſoldiers that kept guard would frequently drink health to the biſhops; and when an order was ſent to the captain of the guard, to ſee it was done no more, the reply was, "that the ſoldiers were doing it at the "very inſtant, and would, during the impriſonment of the biſhops, drink "no other health." So that in an early ſtage of this proſecution, one of the privy council owned, "that had the king known how far the thing "would have gone, he had never enjoined the reading the declaration in "the churches." Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 261-62. Ed.

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tended by ſeveral of the nobility, and a vaſt croud of common people; and, after a long trial of ten hours, were acquitted:* upon which there was a general joy, and ſuch loud acclamations, as reſounded not only in the city, but even in the army at Hounſlow.‖

The biſhops addreſs was printed by authority, with a ſatyrical paraphraſe, ſetting forth, that though the biſhops had, without any bowels of tenderneſs, exerciſed many inhuman cruelties upon the diſſenters, they promiſe now to come to a temper, but it is only ſuch an one as they themſelves ſhould ſettle in *convocation*; and though they had all along vigorouſly endeavoured to advance above all law that *arbitrary power* upon which they ſuppoſe his majeſty's declaration was founded, when it could be ſtrained to the oppreſſion of diſſenters, yet now they oppoſe it, and are deſirous in this juncture (as in the year 1672) that the laws for perſecution ſhould retain their force, and the *diſpenſing power* not be countenanced, though deſigned for a general good.

But this was too late, the controverſy between the court and the church was now no longer to be decided by the pen;

* "There were," Dr. *Welwood* obſerves, "two remarkable things in this "trial. King *James* ſaw the illegality of his *new aſſumed prerogative* ex- "poſed on one of the moſt ſolemn cauſes, in Weſtminſter-hall, before one "of the greateſt auditories, by the council of the biſhops; who boldly and "learnedly argued againſt the diſpenſing power, and proved it, by invin- "cible arguments, to be an open violation of the laws and conſtitution of "the kingdom." Another remarkable circumſtance was, "that they, who "had contributed to enſlave their country by falſe notions of law, now "changed their opinion; and others who, through two ſucceſſive parlia- "ments had, at the expence of their own ſufferings, ſtood up for the liberty "of their country, did now endeavour to ſtretch the prerogative beyond its "juſt limits, as they had before oppoſed it. So hard is it for mankind to be, "at all times, and upon all turns, conſtant to themſelves." Welwood's Memoirs, p. 185-6. ED.

‖ The biſhops were complimented on their victory, in the higheſt manner, by all orders of men. They were ranked with the primitive confeſſors, and loaded with praiſes: they were compared to the *ſeven golden candleſticks*, and to the *ſeven ſtars* in Chriſt's right hand. Their pictures were publickly ſold in all print-ſeller's ſhops, and bought up in vaſt numbers, as guardians of the laws, liberties, and religion, of their country. Their conduct affected king *James* more than any other oppoſition he met with. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 420-21. And, on the day after the trial, he was obſerved to labour under a very great diſturbance of mind. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 264. ED.

and

and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were alienated from the king; even the *diſſenters* (ſays *Eachard*) ſhewed an unuſual readineſs to join the church againſt their common enemy; and whatever might be in the hearts of ſome, the *church party* continued to diſcover an equal willingneſs to coaleſce with the diſſenters. When Dr. *Lloyde*, biſhop of St. Aſaph, paſſed through Oſweſtry, in Shropſhire, he ſent for Mr. *James Owen*, the diſſenting miniſter, and ventured to acquaint him with the ſecret of the prince of *Orange*'s invitation by ſome great perſons, in which he had joined; and added, *He hoped the* proteſtant diſſenters *would concur in promoting the common intereſt, for you and we are brethren* (ſays he;) *we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have ſeen our folly, and are reſolved, if ever we have it in our power, to ſhew that we will treat you as brethren.*

Even archbiſhop *Sancroft*, in the circular letter which he ſent to the clergy of his province, exhorted them to cultivate a good correſpondence with the diſſenters.‖ The *eleventh article* of his letter,* dated July 16, has theſe words, "That "they (viz. the clergy) ſhould walk in wiſdom towards "them who are not of our communion; and if there be in "their pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently "to converſe with them in the ſpirit of meekneſs, ſeeking "by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to "our communion; more eſpecially that they have a tender "regard *to our brethren the proteſtant diſſenters*; that upon "occaſion offered they viſit them at their houſes, and receive "them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever "they meet them, perſuading them (if it may be) to a full "compliance with our church; or at leaſt, that whereunto "we have already attained, we may all walk by the ſame

‖ Calamy's Abridgments, vol. i. p. 385.

* One of the articles of this letter enjoined the clergy, four times at leaſt in the year, to teach the people, in their ſermons, "that the king's power "being in his dominions higheſt under God, all prieſts ſhould, upon all oc- "caſions, perſuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his majeſty, in all "things lawful, and to patient ſubmiſſion in the reſt, promoting, as far as "in them lies, the publick peace and quiet of the world." This was a renewal of certain orders, iſſued out to the ſeveral biſhops of their provinces, with the king's conſent, by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, Aug. 4th, 1622, and repeated in the reign of *Charles* II. High Church Politicks, p. 84. Ed.

"rule,

" rule, and mind the ſame things; and in order thereunto,
" that they take opportunities of *aſſuring and convincing*
" *them, that the biſhops of this church are really and ſincerely*
" *irreconcileable enemies to the errors, ſuperſtitions, idolatries,*
" *and tyrannies of the church of Rome*; and that the very un-
" kind jealouſies which ſome have had of us to the contrary
" were altogether groundleſs. And in the laſt place, that
" they warmly and affectionately join us in daily fervent
" prayer to the God of Peace, *for an univerſal bleſſed union of*
" *all reformed churches at home and abroad againſt our common*
" *enemy.*" Such was the language of the *church in diſtreſs!*

It was often ſaid, *That if ever God ſhould deliver them out of their preſent diſtreſs they would keep up their domeſtick quarrels no more*;* which were ſo viſibly, and yet artfully managed by our adverſaries, as to make us devour one another. Again, " I do aſſure you, and I am certain I have the beſt
" grounds in the world for my aſſurance, (ſays one) that the
" biſhops, when the happy opportunity ſhall offer itſelf, will
" let the proteſtant diſſenters find that they will be better
" than their word given in their famous *petition.*"† Remarkable are the words of another reverend divine on the ſame occaſion: " The biſhops have under their hands declared
" their diſpoſitions to come to a temper in matters of con-
" formity, and there ſeems to be no doubt of their ſincerity.
" If ever God brings us into a ſettled ſtate out of the ſtorms
" into which our paſſions and folly, as well as the treachery
" of others, have led us, it cannot be imagined that the
" biſhops will go off from thoſe moderate reſolutions which
" they have now declared; and they continuing firm, the
" weak and indiſcreet paſſions of any of thoſe inferior clergy
" muſt needs vaniſh. And I will boldly ſay, that *if the*
" *church of England, after ſhe has got out of this ſtorm, will*
" *return to hearken to the peeviſhneſs of ſome ſour men, ſhe*
" *will be abandoned both of God and man, and will ſet heaven*
" *and earth againſt her.* The nation ſees too clearly how
" dear the diſpute about conformity has coſt us to ſtand upon
" ſuch punctilios; and thoſe in whom our deliverance is
" wrapt up judge too right, that ever they will be *prieſt-*
" *ridden* in this point. And if any argument was wanting

* Burnet, p. 142. † Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 386.

" to conclude the certainty of this point, *the wiſe and gene-*
" *rous behaviour of the main body of the diſſenters in this pre-*
" *ſent juncture has given them ſo juſt a title to our friendſhip,*
" *that we muſt reſolve to ſet all the world againſt us if we*
" *can ever forget it; and if we do not make them all the re-*
" *turns of eaſe and favour when it is in our power to do it.*"*

The reader has now ſeen the various and ſtrong aſſurances of favour, given by the *church party in diſtreſs*, to the non-conformiſts, all which, in a few months, entirely evaporated. Nevertheleſs, I am fully of opinion, that the *low church clergy* meant honeſtly, and deſigned to be as good as their word; for which purpoſe a ſcheme was propoſed to review and amend the liturgy by corrections and additions, and leaving ſome few ceremonies indifferent; but there was *another party* which lay behind the curtain, and meant no more by their proteſtations and promiſes, than to deliver themſelves out of trouble; who, as they renounced the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance* only to ſerve their turn, when that was effected, they ſeemed willing to forget what they had done, and were deſirous of becoming as cruel perſecutors as ever; they were enemies to revolution principles; and when the prince of *Orange* had reſcued them, they would have ſent him back from whence he came; theſe men were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the names of *non-jurors*, *jacobites*, and *high-fliers*, whoſe numbers were greater than the *low church clergy* imagined. They prevailed in convocation, intimidated the friends of liberty and moderation, and put an effectual ſtop to all further attempts of a general comprehenſion.†

While the biſhops were in the Tower, and the princeſs *Anne* at Bath, the queen was declared to be delivered of a prince on Sunday, June 10, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning. This myſterious birth was conducted with great artifice or great imprudence; no care had been taken to ſatisfy the proteſtant part of the nation, that the queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets diſperſed about Whitehall. None of the proteſtant ladies were admitted to be with her when ſhe changed her linen; nor to ſee the milk in her breaſts, nor to feel the child move within her; but

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 426. † Ibid. p. 384, note.

all

all about her were *Italian women*. The place where her majeſty was to lie in, was unknown till a few days before her delivery; and it was oddly circumſtanced as to time, moſt of the proteſtant ladies being out of the way, and preparing for church; the Dutch ambaſſador, then in town, was not called to be a witneſs, on behalf of the princeſs of *Orange*, the preſumptive heir; all being finiſhed in about two hours. The birth was attended with great rejoicings of the popiſh party; a day of publick thankſgiving was appointed, on which occaſion a form of thankſgiving was prepared by the biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and a new ſet of congratulations ſent up from all parts of the kingdom.

Biſhop *Burnet*, Mr. *Eachard*, and others, have examined into the legitimacy of this birth with all poſſible exactneſs, but they have left the matter under great uncertainties.—Some have pronounced it ſuppoſititious, and no better than the laſt deſperate effort of the popiſh party to perpetuate their religion. Others, who credited the birth, have aſſigned very plauſible reaſons to ſuſpect, that the *preſent pretender* was not the queen's child, but *another*'s clandeſtinely ſubſtituted. Biſhop *Burnet* is of opinion, that the proofs of its legitimacy were defective. However, all the hopes of a proteſtant ſucceſſor ſeemed now at an end, and the joys of the papiſts conſummated, the Engliſh reformation was expiring, and nothing ſhort of a total ſubverſion of the civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to be expected.

The princeſs of *Orange* being thus cut off from the ſucceſſion, his *highneſs* gave greater attention to the advices he received from England of the *queen's having miſcarried ſome months before*, and that therefore the preſent child muſt be ſuppoſititious. The church party, being driven by diſtreſs from their favourite doctrine of non-reſiſtance, fled with others to the prince of *Orange* as their laſt refuge, and prayed him to come over to their reſcue; with this view admiral *Ruſſel*, and ſeveral eminent perſons, repaired to the Hague on various plauſible pretences, but in reality to invite the prince, and concert meaſures with him for his expedition to England; who received them favourably, and diſcovered a good diſpoſition to eſpouſe their cauſe, conſidering that his own right to the crown was now loſt, and that if popery

was eſtabliſhed in England, Holland and the reſt of the reformed intereſt muſt be expoſed to the utmoſt hazard. Little perſuaſion was wanting to prevail with the *ſtates-general* to aſſiſt the Engliſh proteſtants; but all the difficulty was to keep it ſecret, while they were preparing for ſo critical an undertaking. The States made uſe of the differences about the election of an archbiſhop of Cologn as a reaſon to form an army for the ſecurity of their own borders; and the *prince*, who had the adminiſtration in his hands, ſet himſelf under this cover to prepare all neceſſaries for his intended embarkation, while Mr. *Zuyleſtein* brought him from time to time the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the diſpoſition of the body of the Engliſh proteſtants to appear for him at his landing, which fully fixed him in his purpoſe.

But the French ambaſſador at the Hague kept a watchful eye upon the prince's motions, and gave timely notice of the extraordinary preparations for war that were making in Holland, to his maſter *Louis* XIV. from whom king *James* had the firſt intelligence. Mr. *Skelton*, the Engliſh envoy at Paris, alſo wrote five or ſix letters to court on the ſame head, but king *James* gave little heed to his advices, becauſe the prince of *Orange* carried it in a moſt courteous and reſpectful manner, complimenting his majeſty on the birth of the prince of *Wales*, and cauſing his name to be added to the reſt of the princes of the royal family to be prayed for in his chapel. However, the French king continued to alarm the court of England with the intended invaſion, and offered to ſend over fifteen thouſand men, or as many more as ſhould be wanted to his aſſiſtance; but the earl of *Sunderland*, who had lately complimented the king with his religion, prevailed with his majeſty not to tranſport an army of French papiſts into his dominions, leſt it ſhould confirm the ſuſpicions of the proteſtants, that he deſigned the overthrow of their religion and liberties.*

The king, being at length convinced of the prince of *Orange*'s deſign, ordered the fleet to be fitted out, and the army to be augmented; and diſpatched orders to *Tyrconnel* to ſend hither ſeveral regiments from Ireland, which put the people under terrible apprehenſions of an Iriſh maſſacre.

* Burnet, p. 217.

September

September 21, his majesty issued out his proclamation for the meeting of a new parliament, "intimating his royal "purpose to endeavour a legal establishment of an *universal* "*toleration, and inviolably to preserve the church of England* "*in possession of the several acts of uniformity, as far as they* "*were consistent with such a toleration.** And further to "quiet the minds of his protestant subjects, he was content "that the Roman catholicks should remain incapable of be-"ing members of the house of commons, that so the legisla-"ture might continue in the hands of protestants." Sept. 23, the king was further assured by letters from the marquis of *Abbeville* at the Hague, that pensionary *Fagel* had owned the design of the prince of *Orange* to invade England.§ Upon which the king turned pale and speechless for a while, and like a distracted man looked round every way for relief, but was resolute in nothing. He postponed the meeting of the parliament, and by advice of his council applied to the bishops then in town for advice what was necessary to be done to make the church easy. The bishops moved him to annul the *ecclesiastical commission, and the dispensing power: to recal all licences and faculties for papists to keep schools, to prohibit the four pretended vicars apostolical invading the eccle-siastical jurisdiction; to fill the vacant bishopricks; to restore the charters, and to call a free and regular parliament, by which the church of England might be secured, according to the act of uniformity; and provision made for a due liberty of conscience.* Pursuant to this advice the king and court began to tread backward, concluding, that if they could satisfy the bishops, and recover the affection of the *church*, all would do well. The *bishop of London's suspension* was taken off, the *ecclesiastical commission* dissolved, the *city charter* and the *fellows* of Magdalen-college were restored, and other illegal practices renounced;† but upon news of the prince of *Orange*'s fleet being dispersed by a storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to sea again till next spring, his majesty with-drew his hand from any further redress of grievances.

But the prince having repaired the damages of the storm, sailed a second time, November 1, and after a remarkable passage, in which the wind chopped about almost miracu-

* Gazette, No. 2384. § Ibid. No. 2386. † Ibid. 2388, 2391.

culously

louſly in his favour,* landed at Torbay, November 5, with about fourteen thouſand men, without meeting the king's fleet, which was at ſea in order to intercept them. The prince brought over with him a *declaration*, dated Oct. 10, divided into twenty-ſix articles, but reducible to three principal heads, 1. An enumeration of the publick grievances, with regard to religion and civil government. 2. The fruitleſs attempts which had been made to redreſs thoſe grievances; under which mention is made of the ſuſpicious birth of the pretended prince of *Wales*. 3. A proteſtation that the preſent expedition was intended for no other purpoſe than to procure a free and lawful parliament; to which the prince would refer the redreſs of all the grievances complained of; and for the obtaining ſuch a parliament, his *highneſs* declares, he had been moſt earneſtly ſolicited by a great many lords both *ſpiritual*† and *temporal*, and by many gentlemen

* Biſhop *Burnet*, who minutely deſcribes the circumſtances of the prince of *Orange*'s landing, ſays, that though he was never inclined to ſuperſtition, but rather to be philoſophical on all occaſions, yet, the ſtrange ordering of the winds and ſeaſons to change, juſt as their affairs required it, made a deep impreſſion on himſelf, and on all who obſerved it. The famous verſes of *Claudian* ſeemed to be more applicable to the prince, than to him on whom they were made:

> " *O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,*
> " *Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.*
>
> " Heaven's favourite, for whom the ſkies do fight,
> " And all the winds conſpire to guide thee right."
>
> Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 252. Edin. edit. 12mo. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey*, though he cannot deny that the prince of *Orange* averred, in his declaration, that he was invited over by lords *ſpiritual*, yet is not inclined to admit the fact. He quotes, with a view to invalidate it, ſome letters from Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, biſhop of Wincheſter, written to Mr. *Eachard* in the years 1716, and 1718-19: in which this concurrence of the biſhops, and of themſelves, in the invitation to the prince of *Orange*, is abſolutely denied. To theſe aſſertions is added a memorandum, made by Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, of a converſation which he had with Mr. *Francis Robarts*, ſon to the earl of *Radnor*, ſhortly after the king's coronation, on this point: who ſaid, that he had aſked commiſſary *William Harbord*, that came over with the prince, whether it was true that the biſhops had taken a part in that invitation? To which *Harbord* anſwered with a curſe, " No, they were not ſo honeſt. But I cauſed it to be put in to raiſe a jea- " louſy and hatred on both ſides, that king *James* believing it, might never " forgive them; and they, fearing he did believe it, might be provoked, " for

gentlemen, and other ſubjects of all ranks, to come over to England; and to encourage the *proteſtant diſſenters*, his *highneſs* adds, that he would recommend to the parliament the making ſuch new laws, as might eſtabliſh a good agreement between the church of England and all proteſtant nonconformiſts, and in the mean time would ſuffer ſuch as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their conſciences.

The king, who had relied too much on the clergy's profeſſions of *unlimited obedience*, being ſurpriſed at the expreſſion in the prince's declaration, that he had been invited by the *lords ſpiritual*, ſent for the biſhops then in town, and inſiſted not only upon their diſowning the fact, but upon their ſigning a paper, expreſſing their *abhorrence* of the intended invaſion; but they excuſed themſelves only with a general profeſſion of their allegiance and duty. The *church party* (ſays *Burnet*‖) *now ſhewed their approbation of the prince's expedition in ſuch terms that many were ſurpriſed at it both then, and ſince that time;* they ſpoke openly in favour of it; they expreſſed their grief to ſee the wind ſo croſs, and wiſhed for a *proteſtant wind* that might bring the prince over. His majeſty therefore finding himſelf deceived in the *church party*, and that he had no other reliance but his army, uſed all imaginable diligence to ſtrengthen it; in obedience to the orders already given, two thouſand five hundred men [chiefly papiſts] were landed at Cheſter from Ireland.—Commiſſions were given out for raiſing ten new regiments of horſe and foot. Three thouſand Scots were ordered from that country. All the militia were commanded to be in readineſs to march on the firſt ſummons; and a proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all horſes and cattle to be removed twenty miles from thoſe parts of the ſea-coaſt, where it was apprehended the prince would land; but ſo great was the people's diſaffection that they paid little regard to his majeſty's orders.

" for their own ſafety, to wiſh and help on his ruin." Againſt theſe authorities, it is to be obſerved that biſhop *Burnet* aſſerts, that the earl of *Danby* drew in the biſhop of *London* to join in the deſign of bringing over the prince of *Orange:* and that *Trelawney*, beſides going into it, engaged alſo his brother, the biſhop of *Briſtol*, into it. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 422, and Burnet, vol. iii. p. 214, 15. ED.

‖ Burnet, p. 243, 4.

Soon

Soon after his highneſs's landing, the body of the nation diſcovered their inclinations ſo evidently, that the king loſt both head and heart at once. The city of London was in confuſion; reports were ſpread that the Iriſh would cut the throats of the proteſtants throughout the nation in one and the ſame night, which awakened the people's fears, and kept them all night on their guard. When this fright was allayed, the mob roſe and pulled down the *maſs houſes*, and burnt the materials in the ſtreets; father *Petre*, with the ſwarms of prieſts and jeſuits who had flocked about the court, diſappeared, and retired into foreign parts; and ſeveral of the king's arbitrary miniſters, who had brought him under theſe difficulties, forſook him and abſconded. *Jefferies* was taken in Wapping in a *ſailor's habit*, and would have been torn in pieces by the mob if he had not been conducted by a ſtrong guard to the Tower, where he died before he came to his trial. The unhappy king, being left in a manner alone, retired with a ſmall retinue to his army at Saliſbury.

The prince of *Orange*, having refreſhed his forces, marched from Torbay to Exeter, where the nobility and gentry ſigned an *aſſociation to ſupport and aſſiſt his highneſs in purſuing the ends of his declaration, and that if any attempt was made on his perſon it ſhould be revenged on all by whom, or from whom it ſhould be made.* Great numbers of common people came in to the prince at Exeter; and as ſoon as he marched forward towards London, prince *George* of Denmark, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Grafton*, lord *Wharton*, *Churchil*, and others of the firſt diſtinction, deſerted the army at Saliſbury, and joined the prince, with a great many proteſtant officers and ſoldiers; ſo that his majeſty perceived, that even the army, which was his laſt refuge, was not to be relied on; and to compleat his unhappineſs, princeſs *Anne*, his younger daughter, withdrew privately from court, with the biſhop of *London*, who put on his buff coat and ſword, and commanded a little army for her highneſs's defence.

Dr. *Finch*, ſon to the earl of *Winchelſea*, and *warden of All-Souls college* in Oxford, was ſent to the prince from ſome of the heads of colleges, to invite him to Oxford, and to aſſure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their plate ſhould be at his ſervice. The prince intended to have

accepted

accepted their invitation, but all things being in a ferment at London, he was adviſed to make all the haſte thither that he could.* So he ſent to Oxford to excuſe his viſit, and to offer them the ASSOCIATION, *which was ſigned by almoſt all the heads, and the chief men of the univerſity; even by thoſe who being diſappointed in the preferments they aſpired to, became afterwards his moſt implacable enemies.*† Archbiſhop *Sancroft* alſo ſent his compliments to the prince, and with ſeven or eight other biſhops, ſigned the *aſſociation*, having changed the word *revenge*, into that of *puniſhment*. This was a ſudden turn (ſays the biſhop) from thoſe principles which they had carried ſo high a few years before. The *diſſenters* went cheerfully into all the prince's meaſures, and were ready to ſign the *aſſociation:* there were few or no *jacobites* or *non-jurors* among them; and throughout the whole courſe of king *William*'s reign, they were among his moſt loyal and zealous ſubjects.

In this critical juncture, the queen and the young prince of *Wales* were ſent to France, December 9, the king himſelf following the latter end of the month, having firſt cauſed the writs for calling a new parliament to be burnt, and the great ſeal to be thrown into the Thames.‖ After his majeſty's firſt attempt to leave the kingdom he was ſeized at Feverſham,§ and prevailed with to return back to London; but when the prince reſolved to come to Whitehall, and ſent his majeſty a meſſage, that he thought it not conſiſtent with the peace of the city, and of the kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his majeſty retired a ſecond time to Rocheſter with the prince's conſent, and after a week's ſtay in that place went away privately in a veſſel to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he declared that though he was going to ſeek for foreign aſſiſtance, he would not make uſe of it to overthrow the eſtabliſhed religion or the laws of

* Burnet, p. 257, 8. † Eachard, p. 1138. ‖ Burnet, p. 260, 263.

§ He was ſeized by Mr. *Hunt*, at that time a cuſtom-houſe officer, who died ſo lately as the 24th of July, 1752, at Feverſham. He boarded the ſhip in which the king was, by virtue of his office; and taking his majeſty for a ſuſpicious perſon, brought him aſhore without knowing his quality; but was greatly terrified when he found it was the king.

Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1752, p. 337. ED.

his

his country. Thus ended the ſhort and unhappy reign of *James* II. and with him the *male line* of the royal houſe of *Stuarts*, a race of princes raiſed up by providence to be the ſcourge of theſe nations, for they were all chargeable with tyranny and oppreſſion, favourers of popery, and invaders of the legal conſtitution of their country in church and ſtate. They enfeebled the nation by encouraging licentiouſneſs of manners, and ſunk a bold and brave people into contempt among foreign powers.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the prince of *Orange* than the king's flight from Rocheſter to France, which furniſhed a plauſible occaſion for the convention parliament to paſs a vote, that the king *had abdicated the crown, and that the throne was vacant;* though it would have looked more like a *voluntary deſertion*, if his majeſty had gone off the firſt time from Feverſham, and had not declared in the paper he left behind him, that *he was going to ſeek for foreign aſſiſtance;* it is certain the king was frightened away by his *prieſts*, who poſſeſſed him with an apprehenſion that he was already a priſoner; and by his *queen*, who prevailed with him to conſult his own and family's ſafety, by leaving the kingdom for the preſent. Thus a great and powerful MONARCH was in a few weeks reduced to a condition little better than that of a wandering pilgrim.*

The prince of *Orange* arrived at St. James's, December 18, and on the 21ſt following, the biſhop of *London*, with ſeveral of the *clergy*, and ſome *diſſenting miniſters*, waited upon his highneſs to congratulate him upon the happy ſucceſs of his glorious expedition; when his lordſhip acquainted his highneſs in the name of the clergy, that there were ſome of their *diſſenting brethren* preſent, who were herein entirely of the ſame ſentiments with themſelves.† But on the 2d of January about ninety of the *non-conformiſt miniſters* attended the prince at St. James's in a diſtinct body, being introduced by the earl of *Devonſhire*, and the lords *Wharton* and *Wiltſhire*; when the reverend Mr. *Howe*, in the name of the reſt, aſſured his highneſs "of their grateful ſenſe of his "hazardous and heroical expedition, which the favour of "heaven had made ſo ſurpriſingly proſperous. That they

* Burnet, p. 274. † Calamy, p. 387.

"eſteemed

" eſteemed it a common felicity, that the worthy patriots " of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom had unani- " mouſly concurred with his highneſs's deſigns, by whoſe " moſt prudent advice the adminiſtration of publick affairs was " devolved, in this difficult conjuncture, into hands which " the nation and the world knew to be apt for the greateſt " undertakings, and ſo ſuitable to the preſent exigency of " our caſe. They promiſed their utmoſt endeavours, in their " ſeveral ſtations, to promote the excellent and moſt deſirable " ends for which his highneſs had declared. They added " their continual fervent prayers to the Almighty, for the " preſervation of his highneſs's perſon, and the ſucceſs of " his future endeavours for the defence and propagation of " the proteſtant intereſt throughout the chriſtian world; " that they ſhould all moſt willingly have choſen *that time* " for the ſeaſon of paying their duty to his highneſs, when " the lord biſhop and the clergy of London attended his " highneſs for the ſame purpoſe, (which ſome of them did, " and which his lordſhip was pleaſed condeſcendingly to " make mention of to his highneſs) had their notice of that " intended application been ſo early as to make their more " general attendance poſſible at that time. Therefore, " though they did now appear in a diſtinct company, it was " not on a diſtinct account, but on that only which was " common to them, and to all proteſtants; and though there " were ſome of their brethren of eminent note, whom age " or preſent infirmities hindered from coming with them, " yet they concurred in the ſame grateful ſenſe of their " common deliverance."† His highneſs received them very favourably, and returned them the following anſwer: " My " great end was the preſervation of the PROTESTANT RE- " LIGION; and with the Almighty's aſſiſtance and permiſſion, " ſo to defend and ſupport the ſame, as may give it ſtrength " and reputation throughout the world, ſufficient to preſerve " it from the inſults and oppreſſion of its moſt implacable " enemies; and that more immediately in theſe kingdoms " of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I will uſe my ut- " moſt endeavours, ſo to ſettle aud cement all different " perſuaſions of proteſtants in ſuch a bond of love and com-

† Howe's Life, p. 142.

" munity

" munity as may contribute to the lafting fecurity and enjoy-
" ment of fpirituals and temporals to all fincere profeffors
" of that holy religion."

In order to fettle the government, the prince publifhed an order, defiring all perfons who had ferved as *knights*, *citizens*, or *burgeffes*, in any of the parliaments in the reign of king *Charles* II. to meet him at St. James's on Wednefday the 26th of December, at ten in the morning; and that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London would be prefent, and fifty of the common-council.* This affembly defired the prince to take upon himfelf the adminiftration of the government for the prefent; and a *convention parliament* was chofen with all expedition, in which various methods were propofed of fettling the government: fome were for compromifing matters with king *James*, and others for a *regency;* but after long and warm debates the throne was declared *vacant*, *king* James *having abdicated the government*, *and broken the original contract with his people*. When the queftion was put, whether to fill the throne with a *king*, or to appoint a *regent*, it was carried for the former only by *two* voices, *fifty-one* being for a king, and *forty-nine* for a regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen bifhops, two only (viz.) the bifhops of London and Briftol, being for a king; the reafon of which was their reluctance to contradict the doctrine they had been fo long preaching, (viz.) that the *regal power* was *jure divino*, and his majefty's character indelible. They had indeed concurred in inviting the prince of *Orange* to come to the relief of their religion, but the ftorm being appeafed, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old principles, and therefore voted for a *regency;* but the queftion being carried (fays bifhop *Burnet*) *nature was fo ftrong in them that it was too hard for their doctrine*.† And a declaration being prepared for afferting and vindicating the ancient rights and liberties of the fubject, the crown was offered to the PRINCE and PRINCESS of ORANGE, the latter of whom arrived from Holland the day before; and BOTH having declared their acceptance, were proclaimed KING and QUEEN of England, &c. Feb. 13, 1688-9, and crowned at Weftminfter, April 11,

* Gazette, No. 2414. † Burnet, p. 282.

following,

following, amidſt the joyful acclamations of all the friends of the proteſtant religion and liberties of their country.§

Thus a wonderful *revolution* was effected with little or no effuſion of blood; and it is ſurpriſing to reflect on the remarkable appearances of Divine Providence in the riſe, progreſs, and conſummation of this important event; how the court of England and the Roman catholick powers were all infatuated or aſleep, while the deſign was forming; and when it was carrying into execution, how the winds were ſubſervient, and the hearts of the people united till it was brought to maturity: and it will amaze all poſterity to read the inconſiſtent and diſhonourable part which the *high church clergy and their friends* acted on this occaſion; for after they had preached their hereditary prince into a belief of their *unlimited loyalty*, and aſſured him in numberleſs addreſſes, that *their* lives and fortunes were *abſolutely* at his ſervice; and after the univerſity of Oxford, by a ſolemn decree, had declared all *manner of reſiſtance damnable and infamous to the chriſtian religion*, they appeared among the firſt who *reſiſted him*; and by opening A RESERVE which lay hid under their unbounded profeſſions of *duty* and *allegiance*, let him fall into that pit out of which he could never eſcape. As ſoon as the *jure divino* king invaded the properties of the univerſities, and threatened to take down the fences of their eccleſiaſtical preferments, they invited the prince of *Orange* with an armed force to their reſcue; they ſigned an aſſociation to ſupport and aſſiſt him; they offered him their plate, and

§ The Scotch alſo, in 1689, ſent up commiſſioners to their majeſties at Whitehall to make a tender of their crown. On being introduced, they preſented, according to the powers on which they acted, an addreſs from the eſtates, the inſtrument of government, a recital of grievances, and a requeſt that the convention might be converted into a parliament. The king having promiſed to concur with them in all juſt meaſures for the intereſt of the kingdom, the coronation oath was tendered to their majeſties. His conduct on this occaſion deſerves particular notice: it was cautious and liberal. The oath contained a clauſe by which they ſhould engage *to root out hereſy*: the king demurred on this, and declared he would not oblige himſelf *to act as a perſecutor*. The commiſſioners replying that ſuch was not the *meaning* or import of the oath, he deſired *them* and others preſent, *to bear witneſs to the exception he made*. Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 34, 12mo. and Lindſey's Hiſtorical View of the State of Unitarianiſm, p. 303, note. ED.

declared

declared for him in a body, even while their ſovereign was on the throne. Nevertheleſs, the moment they thought their power and preferments ſecure, they would have retracted, and made up matters again with king *James*; they oppoſed the motion in the convention parliament for *declaring the throne vacant;* and when the government came to be ſettled upon king WILLIAM and queen MARY, great numbers of them would not ſubmit, and thoſe who did acted a treacherous and diſhonourable part to their GREAT DELIVERER, throughout the courſe of his reign. What inconſiſtencies are theſe! What oaths and declarations can hold men who burſt ſuch bands, and cut ſuch ſacred cords aſunder! The like muſt be obſerved as to their vows and promiſes to the non-conformiſts, all which were forgot or broken, as ſoon as the church was delivered. The diſſenters acted a more conſiſtent part, for not being intangled with the ſame fetters, they went heartily into the revolution, and were among king *William*'s beſt and ſteadieſt friends, when others forſook and oppoſed him.

No ſooner were king WILLIAM and queen MARY ſettled on the throne, than the diſſenting miniſters in and about the city of London waited on their majeſties with an *addreſs of congratulation*, when Dr. *Bates* at their head made the two following ſpeeches:

To the KING.

" *May it pleaſe your majeſty*,

" THE ſeries of ſucceſsful events which have attended " your glorious enterprize for the ſaving theſe kingdoms " from ſo imminent and deſtructive evils, has been ſo emi- " nent and extraordinary, that it may force an acknowledg- " ment of the Divine Providence from thoſe who deny it, " and cauſe admiration in all who believe and reverence it. " The beauty and ſpeed of this happy work are the bright " ſignatures of his hand, who creates deliverance for his " people: the leſs of human power, the more of divine wiſ- " dom and goodneſs has been conſpicuous in it. If the de- " liverance had been obtained by fierce and bloody battles, " victory itſelf had been dejected and ſad, and our joy had " been mixed with afflicting bitterneſs; but as the ſun aſ-

" cending

" cending the horizon diſpels without noiſe the darkneſs of
" the night, ſo your ſerene preſence has, without tumults
" and diſorders, chaſed away the darkneſs that invaded us.
" In the ſenſe of this aſtoniſhing deliverance we deſire with
" all poſſible ardency of affection to magnify the glorious
" name of God, the author of it, by whoſe entire efficacy,
" the means have been ſucceſsful; and we cannot without a
" warm rapture of thankfulneſs recount our obligations to
" your majeſty, the happy inſtrument of it. Your illuſtrious
" greatneſs of mind, in an undertaking of ſuch vaſt expence,
" your heroick zeal in expoſing your moſt precious life in
" ſuch an adventurous expedition, your wiſe conduct, and
" unſhaken reſolution in proſecuting your great ends, are
" above the loftieſt flights of language, exceed all praiſe.
" We owe to your majeſty the two greateſt and moſt va-
" luable bleſſings that we can enjoy, *the preſervation of the*
" *true religion*, our moſt ſacred treaſure; and *the recovery of*
" *the falling ſtate, and the eſtabliſhing it upon juſt foundations.*
" According to our duty, we promiſe unfeigned fidelity,
" and true allegiance to your majeſty's perſon and govern-
" ment. We are encouraged by your gracious promiſe upon
" our firſt addreſs, humbly to deſire and hope, that your
" majeſty will be pleaſed, by your wiſdom and authority, to
" eſtabliſh a firm union of your proteſtant ſubjects in matters
" of religion, by making the rule of chriſtianity to be the
" rule of conformity. Our bleſſed union in the purity and
" peace of the goſpel will make this church a fair and lovely
" type of heaven, and terrible to our antichriſtian enemies:
" This will make England the ſteady centre from whence
" a powerful influence will be derived for the ſupport of
" reformed chriſtianity abroad. This will bring immortal
" honour to your name, above the trophies and triumphs
" of the moſt renowned conquerors. We do aſſure your
" majeſty, that we ſhall cordially embrace the terms of union
" which the ruling wiſdom of our Saviour has preſcribed in
" his word. We ſhall not treſpaſs further on your royal
" patience, but ſhall offer up our fervent prayers to the
" King of Kings, that he will pleaſe to direct your majeſty
" by his unerring wiſdom, and always incline your heart to
" his glory, and encompaſs your ſacred perſon with his fa-

" vour

" vour as with a ſhield, and make your government an uni-
" verſal bleſſing to theſe kingdoms."

To which his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make the following anſwer:

" *I TAKE kindly your good wiſhes, and whatever is in*
" *my power ſhall be employed for obtaining ſuch an union among*
" *you. I do aſſure you of my protection and kindneſs.*"

To the QUEEN.

" *May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

" YOUR happy arrival into your native country, and
" acceſſion to the crown, has diffuſed an univerſal joy through
" this kingdom. It is an auſpicious ſign of publick felicity,
" when ſupreme virtue, and ſupreme dignity, meet in the
" ſame perſon. Your inviolable firmneſs in the profeſſion of
" the truth, and exemplary piety, are the moſt radiant jewels
" in your crown. The luſtre of your converſation, un-
" ſtained in the midſt of tempting vanities, and adorned with
" every grace, recommends religion as the moſt honourable
" and amiable quality, even to thoſe who are averſe from
" hearing ſermons, and apt to deſpiſe ſerious inſtructions
" and excitations to be religious. We humbly deſire, that
" your majeſty would be pleaſed, by your wiſdom and good-
" neſs, to compoſe the differences between your proteſtant
" ſubjects in things of leſs moment concerning religion.—
" We hope thoſe reverend perſons who conſpire with us in
" the main end, the glory of God and the publick good,
" will conſent to the terms of union wherein all the reformed
" churches agree. We ſhall ſincerely addreſs our requeſts
" to God, that he will pleaſe to pour down in a rich abun-
" dance his bleſſings upon your majeſty's perſon and govern-
" ment, and preſerve you to his heavenly kingdom."

Her majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer,

" *I WILL uſe all endeavours for the obtaining an*
" *union that is neceſſary for the edifying of the church.** *I*
" *deſire your prayers.*" Though

* This was in the ſpirit of a noble anſwer, which her majeſty made to Dr. *Increaſe Mather*, who was introduced to her to ſolicit a new charter for New-England. He repreſented that her ſubjects in that country were ge-
nerally

Though the joy that accompanied the revolution had a conſiderable influence on the choice of repreſentatives in parliament, yet there being no *court* to make intereſt among the people, it appeared that the late king had a party in both houſes ſufficient to perplex the government, who firſt propoſed the choice of a *new parliament*, in order to throw the nation into a ferment;† but this being overruled, a bill was brought in, and paſſed, Jan. 23, to turn the preſent *convention* into a *parliament*, it being wiſely concluded, that thoſe who had ſet the king on the throne, would be moſt zealous to maintain him there; but when the houſe was called over, and the members required to take the oaths, eight biſhops abſented, (viz.) Dr. *Sancroft* archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Turner* of Ely, *Lake* of Chicheſter, *Kenn* of Bath and Wells, *White* of Peterborough, *Thomas* of Worceſter, *Lloyde* of Norwich, and *Frampton* of Glouceſter; however, that they might recommend themſelves by a ſhew of moderation, before they withdrew they moved the houſe of lords for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehenſion, which were drawn up accordingly by the earl of Nottingham, and were much the ſame with thoſe prepared for the houſe of commons in king *Charles* the ſecond's time, during the debates about the bill of excluſion.

The *clergy* in general took the oaths, but it became viſible that many among them took them only as oaths of ſubmiſſion to *uſurpers*, with this *reſerve*, that it was ſtill lawful to aſſiſt king *James*, if he ſhould attempt to recover the crown, and that he was ſtill their king *de jure*, though the prince of *Orange* was king *de facto*, contrary to the plain meaning of the words; but the clergy broke through all theſe fetters, (ſays the biſhop†) to the reproach of their profeſſion: and the prevarication of ſo many in ſo ſacred a

nerally non-conformiſts, but carried it with all due reſpect to others: and added, that this nation had cauſe to bleſs God for the indulgence it now enjoyed under the king and her majeſty. The queen anſwered, "*It is what* "*I am for*. It is not in the power of men to believe what they pleaſe; and "therefore, I think, they ſhould not be forced in matters of religion, con- "trary to their perſuaſions and their conſciences. I wiſh all good men were "of one mind; however, in the mean time, I would have them live peace- "ably, and love one another." Increaſe Mather's Life, p. 49. Ed.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 7, 8. Edin. Ed. 12mo. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 303.

matter, contributed not a little to the atheiſm of the age. Indeed they had embarked ſo far in their doctrines of *abſolute ſubmiſſion, and the divine right of monarchy*, that they knew not how to diſengage themſelves with honour or conſcience. Many ſuffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapſe, and yet officiated afterwards contrary to law.—They threatened the church with a new ſeparation, which terrified the moderate clergy, and put a ſtop to all amendments of the liturgy for the eaſe of diſſenters, leſt the *non-jurors* ſhould gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in oppoſition to the reformed one. Thus the non-conformiſts were ſold to the *jacobites*, by the timidity of their real friends; for the *high church party* diſcovered an irreconcileable enmity to an accommodation, and ſeemed only to wiſh for an occaſion to renew old ſeverities. Thoſe who had moved for a comprehenſion, and brought the bill into the houſe of lords, acted a very diſingenuous part, (ſays *Burnet**) for while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves, by ſeeming to countenance the bill, they ſet on their friends to oppoſe it, repreſenting the favourers of it as enemies to the church.

When the king came to the houſe, March 16, he made the following ſpeech:†

" *My lords and gentlemen*,

" NOW I have occaſion of coming hither to paſs theſe " bills, I ſhall put you in mind of one thing which will con- " duce much to our ſettlement, as a ſettlement will to the " diſappointment of our enemies. I am, with all the expe- " dition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in the offices " and places of truſt by this late revolution. I hope you " are ſenſible there is a neceſſity of ſome law to ſettle the " oaths to be taken by all perſons to be admitted to ſuch " places. I recommend it to your care to make a ſpeedy " proviſion for it; and as I doubt not but you will ſuffici- " ently provide againſt papiſts, *ſo I hope you will leave room* " *for the admiſſion of all proteſtants that are willing and able* " *to ſerve*. This conjunction in my ſervice, will tend to " the better uniting you among yourſelves, and the ſtrength-

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 303. † Gazette, No. 2436.

" ening

" ening you againſt your common enemies." It appears by this, that king *William* was for taking off the *teſt*, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to diſſenting proteſtants, though the parliament were of another mind.

When a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, for abrogating the oaths of *allegiance and ſupremacy*, and framing other oaths in their ſtead, a committee was appointed to inſert a clauſe *to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of truſt;* but when the clauſe was reported to the houſe, it was rejected by a conſiderable majority, the earls of *Stamford*, and *Cheſterfield*, the lords *Lovelace*, *Delamere*, *North* and *Grey*, *Wharton* and *Vaughan*, entering their proteſts.*

After this another clauſe was offered, by which it was provided, that ſuch ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for any office, *who within a year before, or after their admiſſion, did receive the ſacrament, either according to the uſage of the church of England, or in any other proteſtant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the miniſter, and two other creditable perſons, members of ſuch a congregation.* The queſtion being put, whether this clauſe ſhould be a part of the bill, it paſſed in the negative; the lords *Oxford*, *Lovelace*, *Wharton*, *Mordaunt*, *Montague*, and *Paget*, entering their proteſts.†

* The proteſts of the diſſentient peers were grounded on the following reaſons: " That an hearty union amongſt proteſtants is a greater ſecurity " to the church and ſtate, than any teſt that could be invented: that this ob- " ligation to receive the ſacrament is a teſt on proteſtants rather than on " papiſts: that ſo long as it is continued, there could not be that hearty and " thorough union amongſt proteſtants as has always been wiſhed, and is at " this time indiſpenſably neceſſary: and laſtly, that a greater caution ought " not to be required from ſuch as were admitted into offices, than from the " members of the two houſes of parliament, who were not obliged to receive " the ſacrament to enable them to ſit in either houſe." A Complete Collection of Proteſts, p. 62, 63, and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 170, 171. ED.

* One reaſon on which the lords proteſted, was, " That myſteries of re- " ligion and divine worſhip are of divine original, and of a nature ſo wholly " diſtant from the ſecular affairs of publick ſociety, that they can not be " applied to thoſe ends: and therefore the church, by the law of the goſpel, " as well as common prudence, ought to take care not to offend either " tender conſciences within itſelf, or give offence to thoſe without, by " mixing their ſacred myſteries with ſecular intereſts." A Complete Collection of Proteſts, p. 64, 65. ED.

It was propoſed further, in a committee of the houſe of lords, to diſpenſe with *kneeling at the ſacrament*, but when the queſtion was put, whether to agree with the commitee in leaving out the clauſe, the votes were equal, and ſo according to the uſage of the houſe it paſſed in the negative.* The like fate attended the motion about the *croſs in baptiſm*, and explaining the words *aſſent* and *conſent* in ſubſcription. Thus the ſeveral attempts for alterations in the church ſervice, at a time when the legiſlature was in a temper for accommodating leſſer differences, were fruſtrated by a riſing party of *jacobites* and *tories*, who threatened the new government with a revolt unleſs they were humoured, and for fear of them, all promiſes of accommodation with the diſſenters were of no avail.

Soon after a bill for *toleration*† *of proteſtant diſſenters* was brought into the houſe, and had an eaſy paſſage; though ſome propoſed, that the act ſhould be only temporary, as a neceſſary reſtraint, that the diſſenters might ſo demean themſelves, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years firſt granted ſhould expire; but this was rejected.— Biſhop *Burnet*‖ ſays, that his zeal for this act loſt him his credit with the *church party*, by which it appears they did

* Burnet, p. 15.

† "The act of toleration," remarks a late writer, "was another inter-
"ference of the ſtate to check the power of eccleſiaſtics, but without altering
"the conſtitution of the church. Laymen had before declared what ſhould
"be deemed hereſy in the ſpiritual courts, they now exempted ſome de-
"ſcriptions of diſſenters wholly from their juriſdiction, while all others,
"and oppugners of the trinity by name, were expreſsly reſerved for the per-
"ſecuting ſpirit of the church to operate upon." How truly then might Mr. *Locke*, writing to *Limborch* (Locke's Works, vol. iv. p. 406,) ſoon after the paſſing of this act ſay, "*Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege*
"*ſtabilitatam te ante hæc audiiſſe nullus dubito. Non ea forſan latitudine,*
"*quâ tu et tui ſimiles veri, et ſine ambitione vel invidiâ, chriſtiani opta-*
"*rent. Sed aliquid eſt prodire tenus. His initiis jacta ſpero ſunt libertatis*
"*et pacis fundamenta, quibus ſtabilienda olim erat Chriſti eccleſia.*"— High Church Politicks, p. 66. In Engliſh thus, "I doubt not before this
"you have heard, that toleration is at laſt eſtabliſhed here by law. Not
"indeed with that latitude that you, and other chriſtians like you, unam-
"bitious, and unprejudiced, and lovers of truth might wiſh. But it is a
"great point to proceed ſo far. In theſe beginnings, I hope, are laid thoſe
"foundations of liberty and peace, on which the church of Chriſt will be
"finally eſtabliſhed." Ed.

‖ Hiſtory, p. 14.

not

not much like it. It is entitled, *an act for exempting their majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws therein mentioned.* But the *corporation* and *test acts* were not inserted in this act, and therefore remain in full force: there is an exception likewise of such as deny the doctrine of the trinity; and quakers are excused taking the oaths to the government, upon their making a solemn declaration therein mentioned. This act excuses all protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, for not coming to church, provided they take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned. And dissenting ministers are tolerated on the like conditions, and on their *subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England.* But this being the basis and boundary of their present liberty, I have inserted the act in the *Appendix*, No. XIII.

While the bill for a *toleration* was depending, a motion was made in the house of lords for a *comprehension*, which was received, and some progress made towards effecting it; but a *proviso* being offered, and pressed with great earnestness by some temporal lords, that in imitation of the acts passed in the reigns of king *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. a number of persons, *both of clergy and laity*, might be empowered to prepare materials for such a reformation of the church as might be fit to offer the king and parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a small majority. Bishop *Burnet*§ was against the *proviso*, for fear of offending the clergy, who would look upon it as taking the reformation out of their hands; but adds, "I was convinced "soon after that I had taken wrong measures, and that the "method proposed by the lords was the only one like to "prove effectual." Dr. *Tillotson*, being of the same mind with *Burnet*, advised the king to refer the affair to a *synod of divines*, whose determinations he apprehended would stop the mouths of papists, who reproached our reformation as built chiefly on parliamentary authority, and would be better received by the body of the clergy.‡

Accordingly it was agreed in council, that a select number of *learned divines*, should be appointed by the *royal mandate*,

§ Burnet, vol. iv. p. 14. ‡ Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 179.

to

to meet and conſult about the moſt proper methods of healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations ſhould be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the ſanction of parliament. Agreeably to this reſolution the king iſſued out a commiſſion to thirty divines, of which ten were biſhops, whoſe names were,

Dr. *Lamplugh*, abp. of York,
Compton, bp. London,
Mew, bp. Wincheſter,
Lloyd, bp. St. Aſaph,
Sprat, bp. Rocheſter,
Smith, bp. Carliſle,
Sir *Jonath. Trelawney*, bp. Exeter,
Dr. *Burnet*, bp. Sarum,
Humphreys bp. Bangor,
Stratford, bp. Cheſter.

To theſe were added the following divines,

Dr. *Stillingfleet*,
Tillotſon,
Sharp,
Aldridge,
Hall,
Montague,
Beveridge,
Dr. *Alſton*,
Scot,
Grove,
Patrick,
Maggot,
Kidder,
Jane,
Dr. *Beaumont*,
Goodman,
Battely,
Tenniſon,
Fowler,
Williams.

Their commiſſion was as follows:

" Whereas the particular forms of divine worſhip, and " the rites and ceremonies appointed to be uſed therein, be- " ing things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, " and ſo acknowledged, it is but reaſonable that upon " weighty and important conſiderations, according to the " various exigencies of times and occaſions, ſuch changes " and alterations ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that " are in place and authority ſhould from time to time ſeem " either neceſſary or expedient.

" And whereas the *book of canons* is fit to be reviewed, and " made more ſuitable to the ſtate of the church; and whereas " there are defects and abuſes in *the eccleſiaſtical courts and* " *juriſdictions;* and particularly, there is not ſufficient pro- " viſion made for the removing of ſcandalous miniſters, and " for the reforming of manners, either in miniſters or peo- " ple. And whereas it is moſt fit that there ſhould be a " ſtrict method preſcribed for the examination of ſuch per-

" ſons

" ſons as deſire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to
" their learning and manners;

" We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for
" the good order, edification, and unity of the church of
" England committed to our charge and care, and for the
" reconciling as much as is poſſible of all differences among
" our good ſubjects, and to take away all occaſion of the like
" for the future, have thought fit to authorize you, &c. or
" any nine of you, whereof three to be biſhops, to meet
" from time to time as often as ſhall be needful, and to *pre-*
" *pare ſuch alterations of the liturgy and canons, and ſuch*
" *propoſals for the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical courts*; and
" to conſider of ſuch other matters as in your judgments
" may moſt conduce to the ends above-mentioned."*

The *committee* having aſſembled in the Jeruſalem chamber, a diſpute aroſe about the legality of their commiſſion; *Sprat* biſhop of Rocheſter, one of king *James*'s eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners being of the number, they pretended to fear a *præmunire*, though there was not ſo much as a ſhadow for ſuch a pretence, the *king's ſupremacy*, if it means any thing, empowering him to appoint proper perſons to prepare matters for the legiſlature: however, upon this debate, *Mew* biſhop of Wincheſter, *Sprat* of Rocheſter, with Dr. *Jane* and Dr. *Aldridge*, withdrew. Some of them declared plainly, they were againſt all alterations whatſoever; they thought too much would be done for the *diſſenters*, in granting them an act of toleration, and they would do nothing to make conformity eaſier. They ſaid further, that altering the cuſtoms and conſtitutions of the church, to gratify a peeviſh and obſtinate party, was like to have no other effect than to make them more inſolent.§ But was it ever tried? Did the convocation or parliament make a ſingle abatement from the year 1662, to this time? If the experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the blame might have been caſt upon the *diſſenters*; but to call them *peeviſh* and *obſtinate*, without offering them any, even the ſmalleſt conceſſions, deſerves no better a name than unjuſt calumny.— Was there no obſtinacy and peeviſhneſs on the ſide of the church, in retreating from ſo many promiſes without a ſingle

* Life of Archbp. Tenniſon, p. 10, &c. § Burnet, vol. iv. p. 44.

offer?

offer? But it was ſaid further, that the church, by propoſing theſe alterations, ſeemed to confeſs that ſhe had hitherto been in the wrong, and that the attempt would divide them among themſelves, and leſſen people's eſteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. Such were the reaſonings of theſe *high divines*, if they deſerve the name, ſome of whom but a few months before had made the warmeſt pretences to a ſpirit of moderation.

It was alledged on the other ſide, that if a few corrections or explanations were allowed, there was reaſon to hope it would bring over many of the people, if not the *teachers themſelves;* at leaſt, if the prejudices of the preſent *diſſenters* were too ſtrong, it might have a good effect on the next generation; nor could it be any reproach to the church, ſince the offers were made only in regard to their weakneſs. *Ritual matters* were of an indifferent nature, and became neceſſary in virtue only of the authority that enjoined them, therefore it was an unreaſonable ſtiffneſs to deny any abatements, in order to heal the church's diviſions. Great changes had been made by the church of Rome in her *rituals*; and among ourſelves ſince the reformation, in the reigns of king *Edward* VI. queen *Elizabeth*, king *James*, and king *Charles* II. and it ſeemed neceſſary at this time to make the terms of communion as large as might be, that ſo a greater number might be brought over, ſince, by the *act of toleration*, they might diſſent with ſafety.

But while theſe matters were debating, the *jacobite party* took hold of the occaſion to inflame men's minds againſt the government. It was pretended the church was to be pulled down, and preſbytery eſtabliſhed: the univerſities took fire, and declared againſt alterations, and againſt all who promoted them, as men who intended to undermine the hierarchy. Severe reflections were caſt on the king himſelf, as not being in the intereſt of the epiſcopacy, for the cry of the church's danger was raiſed by the enemies of the government, as that under which they thought they might ſafely ſhelter their evil deſigns. Great intereſt was made in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred, ſo that it was quickly viſible that the laudable deſigns of the king and the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners* would prove abortive. However,

However, the committee continued their work till they had finiſhed it; they had before them all the exceptions that either the puritans before the war, or the non-conformiſts ſince the reſtoration, had made to the church ſervice.* They had alſo many propoſitions and advices that had been ſuggeſted at ſeveral times, by many of our biſhops and divines upon thoſe heads; matters were well conſidered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digeſted into an entire correction, of every thing that ſeemed liable to any juſt exception. Dr. *Nichols* ſays, they began with reviewing the liturgy, and firſt in examining the calendar; they ordered, in the room of the *apocryphal* leſſons, certain chapters of *canonical ſcripture* to be read, that were more to the people's advantage; *Athanaſius's creed* being diſliked, by reaſon of the damnatory clauſes, it was left to the miniſters' choice to uſe it, or change it for the *apoſtles' creed*.† New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the epiſtles and goſpels, for the whole courſe of the year, with that elegance and brightneſs of expreſſion, (ſays the doctor) and ſuch a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raiſe up their minds towards God; they were firſt prepared by Dr. *Patrick*; Dr. *Burnet* added to them farther force and ſpirit; Dr. *Stillingfleet* afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. *Tillotſon* had the laſt hand, giving them ſome free and maſterly ſtrokes of his ſweet and flowing eloquence. Dr. *Kidder* made a *new verſion of the pſalms*, more agreeable to the original. Dr. *Tenniſon* made a collection of the words and expreſſions throughout the liturgy which had been excepted againſt, and propoſed others in their room that were clear and plain, and leſs liable to exception—ſinging in cathedrals was to be laid aſide—the *apocryphal leſſons* were to be omitted, together with the *legendary ſaints' days*—the *croſs* in *baptiſm* to be left to the choice of the parent—and *kneeling* at the *ſacrament* to be indifferent—the intention of *lent faſts* was declared to conſiſt only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in diſtinction of meats—the word *prieſt* was to be changed for *miniſter*—the uſe of the *ſurplice* is left to the diſcretion of the biſhop, who may

* Burnet, p. 44. † Apparatus, p. 95, 96.

diſpenſe

diſpenſe with it, or appoint another to read the ſervice—*godfathers and godmothers* in baptiſm may be omitted if deſired, and children preſented in their parents' names—*re-ordination* of thoſe who had been ordained by preſbyters was to be only conditional—but theſe, with ſome other uſeful alterations in the litany, communion-ſervice, and canons, will not be known till the papers themſelves are made publick. However, theſe conceſſions and amendments would, in all probability, have brought in three parts in four of the *diſſenters*.‖

While theſe things were debating in parliament, and among the commiſſioners, an addreſs was preſented, April 19, praying, that according to the antient cuſtom and uſage of the kingdom in time of parliament, his majeſty would iſſue out his writ for calling a *convocation of the clergy* to be adviſed with in eccleſiaſtical matters, aſſuring his majeſty, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the conſideration of *giving eaſe to the proteſtant diſſenters*; but when they met, it quickly appeared, that the *high church party* were ſuperior to the *moderate*, by their chooſing Dr. *Jane*,* who drew up the *Oxford decree*, prolocutor, in preference of Dr. *Tillotſon*.† His majeſty ſent a letter or meſſage by the earl of

‖ Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 452, 464. See alſo Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 182, 196.

* The election of Dr. *Jane* to be prolocutor, as it ſhewed the ſentiments and ſpirit of a great majority, ſo it was the principal occaſion that nothing ſucceeded. For as ſoon as he got into the chair, he addreſſed the lower houſe in a ſpeech, which, beſides extolling the church of England above all other chriſtian communities, he concluded with theſe words, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*;" i. e. "We will not change the laws of England:" and, in the progreſs of the ſeſſion he oppoſed every thing, that was intended or propoſed by the royal commiſſion. Biſhop Compton's Life, p. 52; and Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54. The concluſion of the prolocutor's ſpeech, it is excellently obſerved in a late valuable publication, was "to be admired from the mouth of an old Engliſh baron; conſiſtent, perhaps, with "the declaration of a conclave, if matters of faith and worſhip were in "agitation there; but ill ſuited, to the greateſt degree, on ſuch an occaſion, "to the character of a proteſtant divine." Hints, &c. by a Layman, p. 27, 4th edition. ED.

† It is diſgraceful to human nature and painful to the generous mind, that the moſt liberal and excellent deſigns are defeated by revenge, and diſappointed ambition. This was the caſe in the affair before us. The election of Dr. *Jane* was effected by the intrigues of two noble lords, who, being

of *Nottingham*, aſſuring them of his conſtant favour and protection, and that he had ſummoned them, not only becauſe it was uſual upon holding parliaments, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the beſt eſtabliſhment of the church of England, and deſiring them to conſider of ſuch things as by his order ſhould be laid before them, with a due and impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church. But there was no room for his majeſty's interpoſition, the lower houſe of convocation quickly coming to a reſolution, *not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations;* and it was not without difficulty carried to make a decent addreſs to the king, thanking him for his promiſe of *protection*. And the addreſs which the biſhops ſent down, acknowledging the protection which the *proteſtant religion* in general, and the church of England in particular, had received from his majeſty, the lower houſe would not agree to it, becauſe it imported their owning ſome common union with the foreign churches.* They would thank his majeſty for his care to eſtabliſh the church of England, whereby the intereſt of the *proteſtant churches* abroad would be better ſecured, but would not inſert the words, *this and all other proteſtant churches*, as the biſhop had deſired.

The biſhop of London, in his anſwer to the *prolocutor*'s ſpeech, told them, that they ought to endeavour a temper of things not eſſential to religion; and that it was their duty

being diſappointed in their expectation of advancement to ſome of the higher employments, after the revolution, on account of their relation to the queen, out of reſentment contrived to have Dr. *Jane* called to the chair, that they might baffle what was intended by the convocation and ſo embarraſs government. He was alſo, on the like principles, a man fit for their purpoſe. For having been refuſed the ſee of Exeter, before promiſed to biſhop *Trelawney*, which he aſked when he was ſent from the univerſity of Oxford to make an offer of their plate to the prince of *Orange*, he was ſo diſguſted, that he became a profeſſed enemy to king *William*. Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54, 56. Ed.

* This was the firſt foundation of the differences in the convocation, which have ever ſince been kept up, to the grief of pious minds, and to the diſgrace of the clergy. For the inferior clergy not agreeing to this addreſs, another addreſs was drawn up and preſented to the king by the biſhop of *London*, ſix of his brethren, and ſeveral doctors in divinity: who were ſolemnly introduced to his majeſty, ſitting on his throne in the banqueting-houſe, by the lord chamberlain. Biſhop Compton's Life, p. 54, 55. Ed.

to

to ſhew the ſame indulgence and charity to the *diſſenters* under king *William*, which ſome of the biſhops and clergy had promiſed in their addreſſes to king *James*.† *But all theſe promiſes* (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) *were entirely forgotten.* It was in vain, therefore, to refer the amendments of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners to a number of men, who had reſolved to *admit of no alterations*; and it is thought that if the *act of toleration* had been left to their deciſion, it would have miſcarried.‖ The king, obſerving ſuch a want of temper, broke up the ſeſſions; and ſeeing they were in no diſpoſition to do good, they were kept from doing miſchief by prorogations for a courſe of ten years.

This was the laſt fruitleſs attempt§ for a *comprehenſion of diſſenters within the eſtabliſhment;* and ſuch was the ungrateful

† Biſhop *Compton* cloſed his ſpeech, which breathed a different ſpirit from that of Dr. *Jane*, with theſe words of *Joſeph* to his brethren, "*Ne multuamini in conſiliis veſtris*;" thereby exhorting them to unanimity and concord. Biſhop Compton's Life, p. 53. Ed.

‖ It marks the miſchief and the evil of the ſpirit of oppoſition, that amongſt the other inſtances in which the deſign of holding this convocation miſcarried, was the failure of an attempt to reſtore family-devotion. For a book, containing directions and forms for family-worſhip, was provided to be authoriſed by this convocation. It was left in the hands of Dr. *Williams*, biſhop of Chicheſter, but has been ſince loſt. Dr. Prideaux's Life, p. 61, 65. Ed.

§ I am tempted to give here the reflections of an admirable piece, which report aſcribes to a *noble* pen. "The prolocutor's *veto* has hitherto proved "triumphant; and we have too much reaſon to apprehend, that, on one pre-"tence or other, theſe laws, binding the conſciences of men, will become, "in effect, as unalterable as thoſe of the Medes and Perſians ever were; tho' "probably, in theſe days, few will venture to hold a doctrine ſo thoroughly "repugnant to all religious liberty. Such, however, was the fate of this "attempt to render the ſervice of the eſtabliſhed church as pure as poſſible, "and to clear away thoſe parts, which, from that day to the preſent, con-"tinue to offend ſo many reſpectable and conſcientious perſons. Conſi-"dering the character and abilities of thoſe who undertook the taſk, it can "never be ſufficiently lamented that their endeavours proved ſo unſucceſs-"ful." For archbiſhop *Wake*, ſpeaking of them before the lords, while he was biſhop of Lincoln, thus expreſſes himſelf: "They were a ſet of men, "than which this church was never, at any one time, bleſſed with either "wiſer or better, ſince it was a church; and a deſign that I am perſuaded, "would have been for the *intereſt* and *peace* of our *church* and *ſtate*, had it "been accompliſhed." And when we find among them names whoſe memory we revere, *Compton*, *Lloyd*, *Burnet*, among the biſhops; with *Tillotſon*, *Stilling fleet*,

grateful return that theſe ſtubborn churchmen made to thoſe who had aſſiſted them in their diſtreſs! For it ought to ſtand upon record, that the *church of England* had been twice reſcued from the moſt imminent danger by men for whoſe ſatisfaction they would not move a pin, nor abate a ceremony; firſt in the year 1660, when the *preſbyterians* reſtored the king and conſtitution without making any terms for themſelves; and now again at the *revolution*, when the *church* fled for ſuccour to a *preſbyterian prince*, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thouſand Hollanders, of the ſame principles with the Engliſh diſſenters; and how uncivilly thoſe troops were afterwards uſed, is too ungrateful a piece of hiſtory to remember.

But beſides the ſtrong diſpoſition of the *high church clergy* and their friends, to return to their allegiance to king *James*, there was another incident that ſharpened their reſentments againſt the *king* and the *diſſenters*, which was his majeſty's conſenting to the abolition of epiſcopacy in Scotland, which could not be prevented without putting all his affairs into the utmoſt confuſion; the bias of that people was ſtrong to *preſbytery*, and the more ſo, becauſe the epiſcopal party went almoſt univerſally into king *James*'s intereſts, ſo that the *preſbyterians* were the only friends the king had in that kingdom.* There was a *convention* called in Scotland like that in England, who on the 11th of April, the day on which king *William* and queen *Mary* were crowned in England, paſſed judgment of forfeiture on king *James*, and voted the crown of Scotland to king *William* and queen *Mary*. They drew up a claim of rights, by one article of

Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sharp, Kidder, &c. among the others; it is clear, that poſterity has confirmed the teſtimony of this learned and ſagacious prelate, and regrets the more the loſs of their beneficent intentions.—"Hints," &c. by a Layman, p. 27, 8, 9. To the names mentioned by this writer we would particularly add Dr. *Humphrey Prideaux*; as he was not only a great friend to the ſcheme then on foot for a comprehenſion with the diſſenters, but publiſhed a piece in favour of that deſign, under the title of "A Letter to a Friend, relating to the preſent Convocation at Weſtminſter;" which was highly applauded by moderate and candid men, and of which ſeveral thouſands were ſold within a fortnight after its publication. Britiſh Biography, vol. vii. p. 224, 5. Ed.

* Burnet, vol. iv. p. 32.

which

which it was declared, that *the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a parity among the clergy; prelacy in the church was a great and inſupportable grievance to the kingdom.* The biſhops and their adherents, having left the *convention*, becauſe not ſummoned by writ from king *James*, the preſbyterians had a majority of voices; whereupon the aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland was made a neceſſary article of the new ſettlement. The epiſcopal party ſent the dean of *Glaſgow* to king *William*, to know his intentions concerning them, who anſwered he would do all he could to preſerve them conſiſtent with *a full toleration to the preſbyterians*, provided they concurred in the new eſtabliſhment; but if they oppoſed it he ſhould not enter into a war for their ſakes. The biſhops, inſtead of ſubmitting to the *revolution*, reſolved unanimouſly to adhere firmly to king *James*, and declared in a body with ſo much zeal againſt the new ſettlement, that it was not poſſible for the king to ſupport them. The clergy ſent for king *James* into Scotland, and the earl of *Dundee* collected ſome thouſands of Highlanders to make a ſtand; but general *Mackay*, who was ſent with a body of forces to diſperſe them, routed them at a place called Gillicranky, and killed the earl of *Dundee* upon the ſpot. So that *epiſcopacy* in Scotland fell a ſacrifice to the intereſt of king *James*.

But though it was impoſſible to ſtop the torrent of the Scots people's zeal for preſbytery; and though the king had only preſbyterians on his ſide in that kingdom, yet the ſuffering it to take place, increaſed the diſaffection of the Engliſh clergy. Reports of the king's diſlike of the *hierarchy* were ſpread with great induſtry; the leading men of both univerſities were poſſeſſed with it (ſays *Burnet**) though the king had joined in communion with the church, and taken the ſacrament according to law; but it was given out, that men zealous for the church were neglected, and that thoſe who were indifferent to the ceremonies were promoted.—His majeſty promiſed the Scots clergy to moderate matters in their favour, and lord *Melvil*, ſecretary of ſtate, engaged very ſolemnly for the ſame purpoſe; but when the *preſbyterians* threatened to deſert the court if they were deſerted by them, *Melvil* thought it the king's intereſt to ſecure them

* Burnet, p. 40.

in

in all events, which could not be done but by abandoning the miniſters of the *epiſcopal perſuaſion*. Such therefore as refuſed to read the proclamation of king *William* and queen *Mary* by the prefixed day were deprived of their livings; which being publiſhed up and down England, and much aggravated, raiſed the averſion of the friends of the church againſt the preſbyterians ſo high (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) that they began to repent their having granted a *toleration* to a party, who, where they prevailed, ſhewed ſo much fury againſt thoſe of the *epiſcopal perſuaſion*. It ought, however, to be remembered that this was a *government caſe*, that the fate of the *revolution* in that kingdom depended upon it; and that the biſhops and epiſcopal clergy, almoſt to a man, were determined *Jacobites*, and refuſed to take the oaths to king WILLIAM and queen MARY. Beſides, what reaſon had the Scots preſbyterians to truſt the epiſcopal clergy, when it was in their power to do themſelves juſtice? Had they not deceived them out of their diſcipline in 1662, and perſecuted them cruelly ever ſince? Whoever peruſes the dreadful ſufferings of the *kirk* in the reign of *Charles* the ſecond, will judge how far they had reaſon to replace them in the ſaddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

But the diſaffection of the *high church clergy* ſtopped not ſhort of the king himſelf, who was made uneaſy by their malignant ſpirit and reſtleſs endeavours to clog the wheels of his government;‡ inſomuch that his majeſty ſometimes declared, with more than ordinary vehemence, that he would not ſtay in England and hold an empty name; that it was not eaſy to determine which was beſt, a *commonwealth* or *kingly government*; but he was ſure the worſt of all governments was, a *king without treaſure, and without power*. He once reſolved to return to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands, imagining they would treat her better;† and he communicated his deſign to the marquis of *Carmarthen*, the earl of *Shrewſbury*, and others, who beſought him with tears to change his reſolution, and at laſt prevailed: but had his majeſty declared this from the throne, the nation was in a temper to have done him juſtice on the *incendiaries*; for notwithſtanding their clamours,

* Burnet, p. 42. ‡ Ibid. p. 49. † Ibid. p. 55, 56.

they

they knew their desperate situation if the king should desert them, having renounced their allegiance to king *James*, and gone such lengths as he could never forgive. But king *William*, having a generous mind, imagined they might be gained by gentleness and kindness, and therefore took up with a *motley ministry*, which distressed him to the last. Thus the *tories and high church clergy* enjoyed the advantages of this GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, while they acted a most ungrateful part towards their DELIVERER, and a most unkind and ungenerous one to their *dissenting brethren*.

Nor have these gentlemen ceased to discover their enmity to the *dissenters* since that time, as often as the power has been in their hands. It was impossible to injure them while king WILLIAM lived, but no sooner was queen ANNE advanced to the throne than they endeavoured to cramp the *toleration* by the bill against *occasional conformity*, which was brought into the house one sessions after another, till at length it obtained the royal assent in the latter end of the year 1711, under the specious title of, *An act to preserve the* protestant religion, *and to confirm the toleration, and further to secure the* protestant succession. It makes some few concessions in support of the toleration, but then it enacts, "That if any "persons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify "themselves by *receiving the sacrament*, or *test*, shall ever re- "sort to a conventicle or meeting of dissenters for religious "worship, during the time of their continuance in such "office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such of- "fence, and be disqualified for any office for the future, till "they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to "the church, and not been at any conventicle for the space "of a whole year." So that no person in the least office in the *customs*, *excise*, or *common council*, &c. could ever enter the doors of a *meeting-house*. But the reader may peruse the act at large in the *Appendix*, Number XIV.

In the last year of queen *Anne* the *toleration* was further straitened by an *act to prevent the growth of schism*; for with these gentlemen *all dissenters are schismaticks*, and in order to prevent their increase, the education of their children was taken out of the hands of their friends, and intrusted only with such who were *full and entire conformists*. And if any

school-

ſchool-maſter or tutor ſhould be willingly preſent at any *conventicle of diſſenters for religious worſhip*, he ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment, and be diſqualified, as above, from teaching ſchool for the future. The act was to take place Auguſt 1, 1714, the very day the queen died; but his late majeſty king *George* I. being fully ſatisfied that theſe hardſhips were brought upon the *diſſenters* for their ſteady adherence to the *proteſtant ſucceſſion* in his illuſtrious houſe, againſt a tory and jacobite *miniſtry*, who were paving the way for a popiſh pretender, procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign. The laſt-mentioned act, with the repeal, is inſerted in the *Appendix* Number XV. and XVI. together with a clauſe which forbids *the mayor, or other magiſtrate, to go into any meeting for religious worſhip with the enſigns of his office.*

Many of the ejected miniſters of 1662, and others, ſurvived the revolution, and made a conſiderable figure in the reigns of king WILLIAM and queen MARY. As,

The Rev. *William Bates*, D.D.
Obad. Grew, D.D.
Sam. Anneſly, D.D.
John Collings, D.D.
Mr. *Richard Baxter*
Mr. *Vincent Alſop*, M. A.
Mr. *John Howe*, M. A.
Mr. *Tho. Doolittle*, M. A.
Mr. *Phil.* and *Matth. Henry*, M. A.
Mr. *John Flavel*
Mr. *Matthew Barker*, M. A.
Mr. *George Cockayne*
Mr. *John Faldo*
Mr. *W. Lorimer*, M. A.
Mr. *Tho. Gilbert*, B.D.
Mr. *Joſ. Hill*, B.D.
Mr. *Robert Bragge*
Mr. *Matth. Mead*
Mr. *Jas. Forbes*, M. A.
Mr. *Tho. Cole*, M. A.
Mr. *Geo. Griffith*, M. A.
Mr. *Nath. Mather*
Mr. *Edward Veal*

The Rev. Mr. *John Quick*
Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, M. A.
Mr. *Rd. Stretton*, M. A.
Mr. *George Hammond*, M. A.
Mr. *Richard Kentiſh*
Mr. *H. Newcome*, M. A.
Mr. *Matth. Sylveſter*
Mr. *Chriſt. Neſſe*, M. A.
Mr. *John Humphrys*, M. A.
Mr. *Richard Mayo*
Mr. *Matth. Clarke*, ſen.
Iſaac Chauncey, M.D.
Mr. *Sam. Slater*, M. A.
Daniel Williams, D.D.
Mr. *John Spademan*, M. A.
Mr. *Robert Billio*
Mr. *Rich. Steele*, M. A.
Mr. *Nath. Taylor*
Mr. *R. Flemming*, M. A.
Mr. *Daniel Burgeſs*
Mr. *James Owen*, &c.

Theſe, and others who deſerve an honourable mention, were learned and uſeful men, and moſt of them popular preachers, ſerviceable to the ſocieties for reformation of manners, and *eminent confeſſors in the cauſe of liberty and ſcriptural religion*; but their deaths not happening within the compaſs of this work, I muſt leave them to be remembered by the hiſtorians of after-times.

SUP-

SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS I. *and* II. *and of* VOL. V.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory *of the* Baptiſts *continued.*

THE hiſtory of the *Baptiſts*, from the acceſſion of *James* II. to the Revolution, is confined to ſome brief accounts of the ſufferings and characters of ſeveral miniſters who were in eſtimation among them, and died in this period.

But we ſhould firſt mention one, whoſe name ſhould have been introduced in the preceding reign: Mr. *Abraham Chear*, a native of Plymouth, who, though he did not enjoy a liberal education, knew the ſcriptures from his childhood, and delighted in ſearching them. About 1648 he was baptiſed, and joined the *baptiſt* church in that town, and was ſoon after invited to be their paſtor, for which character he was fitted by peculiar gifts and graces. In 1661 he ſuffered three months impriſonment in Exeter gaol, on the conventicle act. In 1662 he was, again, caſt into that priſon; after his releaſe he was impriſoned at the Guildhall in Plymouth; then, after a month's detention, he was confined, under military guard, in the iſle of Plymouth; where, after full five years impriſonment in different gaols, and enduring many inhumanities from mercileſs gaolers, he yielded up his ſpirit without pang or conſiderable groan, the fifth of March 1668. At his death the church conſiſted of 150 members. After this the perſecution broke out with greater fury, and it ſuffered much till king *James*'s declaration for liberty of conſcience revived their drooping ſpirits, and were almoſt twenty years deſtitute of a paſtor. Mr. *Chear* was a laborious and ſucceſsful preacher. In his confinement he wrote ſeveral religious

tracts, and letters to his friends, full of chriſtian exhortations to conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs. One of theſe, an acknowledgement of ſome proviſions ſent to him and his fellow-priſoners, moſt expreſſive of chearfulneſs in their ſufferings and gratitude to their benefactors, is preſerved by *Croſby*. During his illneſs, almoſt to his laſt moment, he continued glorifying God, and exhorting all who viſited him to perſeverance in thoſe perilous times; ſpeaking with earneſt concern about the guilt contracted in theſe nations by *perſecuting God's faithful ſervants*; and with great joy and aſſurance concerning the delight which God takes in his ſuffering ſaints, and the ample recompence he will hereafter render for their preſent ſorrows; particularly on the Lord's day preceding his diſſolution. About three hours before it, a friend perceiving him under great preſſures, ſaid ſoftly to him, "They "looked unto the Lord, and were lightened: a right look "will bring down relief under all difficulties." "Yea," he replied, with great ſtrength and earneſtneſs, "and their "faces were not aſhamed."*

In the reign of *James* II. died, at Kelby in Leiceſterſhire, where he was miniſter of a *baptiſt* congregation, Mr. *Richard Farmer*, the friend of Mr. *Clarke* and Mr. *Shuttleworth*, eminent ejected miniſters in that county. He was an hard ſtudent and an affecting preacher, and frequently officiated among the *Independents*. He had a ſmall eſtate to live upon, in which he ſuffered greatly for his religious principles, as diſtreſs was made by virtue of a juſtice's warrant upon his goods; and they took from him, in one year, to the value of one hundred and ten pounds.†

Another, who ſuffered much in this period for his nonconformity, and was ſeveral times priſoner at York, at Leeds, and at Cheſter, was Mr. *Thomas Hardcaſtle*, ejected from Bramham, in the county of York. He was born at Barwick upon Holm, and received his education under Mr. *Jackſon*, of that town, a learned divine. He had not been long in the miniſtry, when the act of uniformity paſſed: he preached afterwards at Shadwell chapel and other places.

* Thompſon's Collections, MSS. and Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. iii. p. 11—24.

† Ibid. p. 118, 119.

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He was a man of pregnant parts, eminent learning and piety, of great moderation and catholicism, though of a bold spirit, which feared no danger. In 1671 he was, on the death of Mr. *Ewins*,* invited to be pastor of a congregation of *baptists*, who had separated from the establishment early in 1640, though they continued their attendance at sermon, but not at the prayers, in the parish church on the morning of every Lord's-day, spending the afternoon and evening in religious exercises among themselves. Mr. *Cann*, the author of the marginal references to the bible, preached adult baptism to them, and settled them in church order, without making baptism a term of communion. On Mr. *Hardcastle*'s settlement with them, they took four rooms on the Lamb pavement, Broadmead, and made them into one of sixteen yards long and fifteen broad. At Bristol he was sent to the house of correction; he died suddenly, 20th of August 1678, universally lamented. He published one practical treatise.† He was succeeded by another ejected minister.

Mr. *George Fownes*, who settled with this society Sept. 16, 1679, finding the number of members, which amounted, when Mr. *Hardcastle* became their pastor, to a hundred,

* Mr. *Ewins* was ejected from a living in Bristol: though he was no scholar, and had been a mechanick, he was esteemed as a judicious, methodical preacher; was remarkable for his meekness, patience, and charity; in his ministerial duties he was popular, laborious, and successful, ready to preach on most days when not otherwise employed; grave and serious every where, and full of good discourse. He was so scrupulous about maintenance, that he would accept no tithes nor salary, but only free gifts. The bishop of Bristol invited him to conform, but he could by no means be satisfied to comply. When, in 1651, he was invited by the separatists at Bristol, to become their minister—he was a *pædobaptist*. About 1654, he embraced the opinions of the *baptists*, and was baptised in London. In 1660 the members of his society were turned out of the churches, and in 1662 he was ordained their pastor. He went through a variety of persecutions, and was often in prison, once for whole year, when he preached twice a day. There he contracted a lethargick distemper, of which he died, aged about sixty, in April 1670, greatly lamented. He was buried in St. James's church-yard, April 29, and a vast concourse of people attended his funeral. He was sometimes abused in the streets, but would not attempt to retaliate; for he said "Vengeance is God's; my duty is patience." Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 351, and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

† Thompson's Collections, MSS. Crosby, vol. iii. p. 27, 28; and Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 557.

increased

increaſed to 166, of which thirty-one were *pædobaptiſts*. Mr. *Fownes* was born in Shropſhire, and received his claſſical education at Shrewſbury, where his grandſon, the ingenious and learned Mr. *Joſeph Fownes*, was for many years a diſſenting miniſter. His father dying he was ſent to Cambridge. He was an able preacher, and a man of great learning, and was converſant in law, phyſick, and other branches of ſcience. He voluntarily quitted the pariſh church, before the reſtoration, though he continued preaching in different places till he fixed at Briſtol. About the time of what was called the *preſbyterian* plot, he was taken in the pulpit, and committed to Newgate; but by virtue of a flaw in the *mittimus*, he was in ſix weeks removed by an *habeas corpus* to the King's-Bench, and acquitted. He was afterwards apprehended on the highway in Kingſwood, on ſuſpicion of only coming from a meeting, and committed to Glouceſter gaol, for refuſing the corporation-oath, and riding within five miles of a corporation: witneſſes were ſuborned to ſwear a riot againſt him, though no other rioter was named in the bill; he pleaded his own cauſe very pleaſantly; telling them, "that he and his horſe could not be guilty of a riot without "company;" and the jury brought in their verdict, *not guilty*; yet he was returned back to priſon; and refuſing to give a bond for good behaviour, of which he knew preaching would be interpreted to be a forfeiture, he was detained there for two years and an half, till God releaſed him by death in December 1685. He was afflicted with the ſtone, and a phyſician declared "that his confinement was his "death; and that it was no leſs murder than if they had "run him through the firſt day he came in, and more "cruel."*

Another eminent miniſter and writer among the *baptiſts* at this time, was Mr. *Henry D'Anvers*, a worthy man, of unſpotted life and converſation, a joint-elder of a *baptiſt* congregation at Aldgate, London; and author of "A Trea-"tiſe of Baptiſm," which drew him into a controverſy with Mr. *Wills*, Mr. *Blinman*, and Mr. *Baxter*, in whoſe writings, if we may credit a letter publiſhed by Mr. *D'Anvers*, and

* Palmer's Non-conformiſts' Memorial, vol. i. p. 243, &c. Croſby, vol. iii. p. 28, 29; and Thompſon's Collections, MSS.

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ſent to him by a perſon of quality, of known worth, ability, and moderation, "there were more heat, paſſion, and per-"ſonal reflections, than of reaſon, or a ſober inquiſition of "truth." Mr. *D'Anvers* was deſcended from honourable parents, his father being a gentleman who had an eſtate of 400l. a year; he himſelf was governor of Stafford and a juſtice of peace, ſome time before *Oliver*'s uſurpation, and well beloved by the people. He was noted for one who would take no bribes. At Stafford he firſt embraced the opinions of the *baptiſts*.*

In 1687, May 14th, died Mr. *Thomas Wilcox*, miniſter of a congregation, which met before the plague at his own houſe in Cannon-ſtreet; but afterwards at the Three Cranes in the Borough, Southwark; and author of a popular little piece, which has been frequently reprinted, entitled "A Drop of "Honey from the Rock, Chriſt." He was born at Linden, in the county of Rutland, Auguſt 1622; was ſeveral times confined in Newgate for *non-conformity*, and ſuffered very much. He was a moderate man, and of catholick principles, well beloved by all denominations, and frequently preached among the *preſbyterians* and *independents*.

October 3, 1687, died, aged 53, Mr. *John Goſnold*, who had been a ſcholar at the Charter-houſe, and a ſtudent at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, a man of great learning and piety; a pious practical preacher, of ſingular modeſty and moderation; intimately acquainted with *Tillotſon*, whoſe weekly lecture he uſed to attend, and was much eſteemed and valued by other men of note and dignity in the eſtabliſhed church, who kept up a correſpondence with him. He was educated for the pulpit in the eſtabliſhment, but by the act of uniformity made incapable of any ſettlement in it. He was chaplain to lord *Grey*. Having joined the *baptiſts*, he was choſen paſtor of a congregation at Barbican, in London; and was one of the miniſters who ſubſcribed the apology preſented to *Charles* II. on occaſion of *Venner*'s conſpiracy. Though he was always peaceably minded, he was often forced to conceal himſelf. His flock held him in great reſpect, and his preaching was ſo popular as to draw after him people of all denominations. His audience was uſually com-

* Croſby, vol. iii, p. 90.

puted

puted to be near three thouſand; and among them very often ſix or ſeven clergymen in their gowns, who ſat in a convenient place, under a large gallery, where they were ſeen by few. The number of his auditors, and the figure which ſome of them made, occaſioned, after the fire of London, an application from the officers of the pariſh of Cripplegate to requeſt a collection for the poor, who abounded in that pariſh. The requeſt was complied with, upwards of fifty pounds was raiſed, and the church voluntarily continued the collection for above twenty years. His publications were, a ſmall treatiſe entitled "the Doctrine of Baptiſm;" and another concerning "the laying on of hands." He was buried in Bunhill with this ſimple inſcription:

"Here lieth the body of Mr. *John Goſnold*, a faithful "miniſter of the goſpel, who departed this life, October "the 3d, 1678, and in the 53d year of his age."

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory *of the* Quakers *continued.*

DURING the preceding period, from the declaration of indulgence to the end of *Charles* the IId's reign, this ſociety loſt ſeveral active and eminent members by death.

Among theſe was *William Baily*, who died 1675, at ſea, in his voyage from the Weſt-Indies. He had preached among the *baptiſts* at Pool in Dorſetſhire, when, convinced by the miniſtry of *George Fox*, he embraced the principles of the *quakers* in 1655, among whom he became a bold and zealous preacher, not in England only, but while he followed a ſeafaring life in diſtant countries, being concerned to propagate righteouſneſs, whenever an opportunity preſented itſelf, and he diſplayed a like fortitude in ſuffering for his teſtimony; for he was frequently impriſoned in different gaols, both during the time of the commonwealth and after the reſtoration. He alſo ſuffered much corporal abuſe by blows, by being thrown down and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head, trampled upon by a corpulent man, and his mouth and jaws attempted to be rent aſunder. On a voyage from Barbadoes he was viſited with a diſeaſe, which terminated his life and ſufferings. Among other ſenſible obſervations, expreſſive of the ſerenity of his mind, and of devout confidence and hope, addreſſing himſelf to the maſter of the veſſel, he ſaid, "Shall I lay down my head in peace upon the "waters?* Well, God is the God of the whole univerſe; "and though my body ſink, I ſhall live a-top of the waters." He afterwards added, "the creating word of the Lord en- "dures for ever."†

In

* Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 407—411.

† This *William Baily* married *Mary Fiſher*, a woman of ſingular ardour and reſolution in the propagation of her religious principles; for, beſides going to Boſton in America, and meeting ſevere ſufferings there, ſhe engaged, after her return to England, in a more arduous undertaking. This was to pay a viſit to ſultan *Mahomet* IV. encamped with his army near

In 1679, died, at Goodneſtone Court in Kent, in the 63d year of his age, *Iſaac Pennington*, of Chalfont in Buckinghamſhire, an honourable, uſeful, and virtuous member of this ſociety. He was heir to a fair inheritance, being the eldeſt ſon of alderman *Pennington*, of London, a noted member of the long parliament, and nominated, though he never ſat, one of the king's judges. His education had all the advantages the ſchools and univerſities of his own country could afford him; his rank in life threw him into the company of ſome of the moſt learned and conſiderable men of the age; his underſtanding was by nature good; his judgment and apprehenſion quick; his diſpoſition was mild and affable; and his converſation chearful, but guarded; equally diveſted of moroſeneſs and levity. From his childhood he was religiouſly inclined, and converſant with the ſcriptures; the wonder of his acquaintance for his awful frame of mind and retired life. When he firſt met with the writings of the *quakers*, he threw them aſide with diſdain; and, when he fell into converſation with ſome of them, though they engaged his affectionate regard, yet he could not but view them in a contemptuous light, as a poor and weak generation. But, afterwards, being invited to a meeting in Bedfordſhire, where *George Fox* preached, his prejudices gave way; he joined the ſociety, againſt all the influence of connections and worldly proſpects, and became a very eminent and ſerviceable member in it. He diligently viſited and

near Adrianople. She proceeded on her way as far as Smyrna, when the Engliſh conſul ſtopped her, and ſent her back to Venice. Not diſheartened from the proſecution of her deſign, ſhe made her way by land, and eſcaped any manner of abuſe, through a long journey of five or ſix hundred miles. She went to the camp alone, and obtained an audience of the ſultan, who received her with great courteſy, and heard her with much ſerioufneſs and gravity, invited her to ſtay in the country, and offered her a guard to Conſtantinople. This ſhe declined, but reached that city in ſafety without the leaſt injury or inſult, and afterwards arrived in England. The conduct of the *Mahometans* towards her, as *Gough* remarks, was a ſtriking contraſt to that of the profeſſors of New-England. "We cannot but regret," he properly adds, "that the beſt religion the world was ever bleſſed with, "and in its own purity ſo far ſurpaſſing in excellence, ſhould, on compa- "riſon with human infidelity, be ſo tarniſhed through the degeneracy of "its profeſſors, who, under the name of chriſtians, in morality, generoſity, "and humanity, fall far ſhort of thoſe who name not the name of Chriſt." Gough, vol. i. p, 423.

adminiſtered

adminiſtered to the afflicted in body and mind. He opened his heart and houſe to the reception of friends. His preaching was very ſucceſsful in proſelyting many, and conforming many. He was an excellent pattern of piety, virtue, and the ſtricteſt morality. He was a moſt affectionate huſband, a careful and tender father, a mild and gentle maſter, a ſincere and faithful friend, compaſſionate and liberal to the poor; affable to all, ready to do good to all men, and careful to injure none. But neither rank of life, benevolence of diſpoſition, inculpable innocence of demeanour, nor the univerſal eſteem of his character, could ſecure him from the ſufferings attendant upon his religious profeſſion. His impriſonments were many, and ſome of them long and ſevere. Theſe he bore with great firmneſs and ſerenity, and the ſharp and painful diſtemper, which put an end to his life, gave no ſhock to his internal peace.*

In the next year, 1680, died, leaving behind him deep impreſſions of grateful reſpect, and honourable eſteem in the hearts of many, *Giles Barnadiſton*, of Clare in Suffolk, aged fifty-ſix. He was born in 1684, of a reſpectable and opulent family, and being deſigned for the pulpit in the eſtabliſhment, he received a liberal education both in ſeminaries of literature, and at the univerſity, where he ſpent ſix years. But when he was called on to accept an offer of preferment in the church and to take orders, from a conſciouſneſs of wanting the internal purity and ſpiritual wiſdom eſſential to a miniſter of the goſpel, he reſolutely declined the propoſal. Though, in this inſtance, he was governed by a juſt and ſerious view of things, he had not firmneſs to reſiſt the allurements of pleaſure and ſenſual gratifications. On the breaking out of the civil war he obtained a colonel's commiſſion in the army; but he ſoon grew weary of a military life, accompanied with violence and bloodſhed, laid down his commiſſion, and retired to Wormingford Lodge in Eſſex, commenced a ſtricter life than before, and became thoughtful about the way of ſalvation. In this ſtate of mind he felt an inclination to acquaint himſelf with the principles of the *quakers*, and, in 1661, invited ſome of them to his houſe; the conſequence of his converſation with *George*

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 439—447.

Fox

Fox the younger, and *George Weatherly*, who paid him a viſit, was his joining himſelf with this ſociety; and he willingly took part in the ſtorm of perſecution to which this people were expoſed, and conſtantly attended their religious meetings in the hotteſt time of it. In 1669 he removed to Clare, the place of his nativity, and in the ſame year he made his appearance in the miniſtry, in which he acquitted himſelf with faithfulneſs, fervency, wiſdom, and ſucceſs. He had but a tender conſtitution; yet, animated by a devoutneſs to the glory of God, and by a generous concern to promote the well-being of mankind, he took many journies, and travelled into Holland, as well as divers parts of England, to make known to others what he judged to be the truth. He died, on his return from London to Chelmsford, after a ſhort illneſs, in which he expreſſed his reſignation, "that "the Lord was his portion, and that he was freely given "up to die, which was gain to him."*

In 1681 died, at Stafford, where he had reſided ſeveral years, and left a good report among the inhabitants of the town, *Thomas Taylor*, aged 65 years, an ancient and faithful miniſter of this ſociety. He was born, at or near Shipton in Yorkſhire, about the year 1616, and received a liberal education at the univerſity of Oxford. He was firſt a lecturer in this county, and then obtained a living in Weſtmoreland, which he held till the year 1652, when he voluntarily relinquiſhed it. His audience was principally compoſed of *Puritans*, among whom he ranked, for he declined the uſe of ceremonies, and would neither baptize children at the font, nor ſign them with the ſign of the croſs. On having an interview with *George Fox*, at Swarthmore, he embraced his doctrine, and joined him as a companion in his travels and miniſterial labours. He reſigned his living on a conviction of the unlawfulneſs of preaching for hire. He travelled through many parts of England, diſſeminating the doctrine of the *quakers*, which he maintained at Oxford againſt the learned Dr. *Owen*, at that time vice-chancellor of the univerſity, with great advantage in the opinion of the academics. But his travels were interrupted by a ſucceſſion of impriſonments, one of which laſted for ten years, till *Charles* II.

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 549—553.

iſſued

iſſued his letters patent for the general diſcharge of the *quakers* from priſon, in 1672. Supported by conſciouſneſs of a good cauſe, and patient acquieſcence in the divine diſpoſals, he held his integrity to the laſt.*

In 1684 died *William Bennet*, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, a man of a religious turn of mind from his infancy, which, as he grew up, led him to aſſociate with the ſtricteſt profeſſors. His firſt connections were among the *independents*; he then joined the *quakers*, and continued a ſteady, ſerviceable, and honourable member of their ſociety till his death. He travelled in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, edifying his friends and making converts, through many parts of England, adorning his character by the innocence and integrity of his life, ſo as to gain univerſal eſteem, and to extort from his adverſaries an acknowledgement of his perſonal merit. Yet his ſufferings were remarkable; he appears to have ſpent, at leaſt in the latter part of his life, nearly as much if not more time in priſon, than in the enjoyment of his liberty; till growing weaker and weaker, by cloſe and continued confinement, he fell a ſacrifice to the ſentence of partial magiſtrates and the forced conſtruction of unequal laws.

This year died, alſo, in Carliſle gaol, *Thomas Stordy*, deſcended from a family of repute in Cumberland, and born to the inheritance of an handſome eſtate. About middle age he became ſeriouſly thoughtful, in the purſuit of pure religion. He firſt joined the *independents*, among whom his talents, in exhortations and religious exerciſes, were highly eſteemed. After ſome time he left them, and connected himſelf with the *quakers*; in this ſociety he ſpent the remainder of his life, reſpected in his neighbourhood as a man of circumſpect, ſober, and temperate demeanor, upright in his dealings, obliging in his diſpoſition, hoſpitable in his houſe, and liberally charitable to the poor around him. But this honeſt, reſpectable citizen was harraſſed by proſecution upon proſecution, and penalty upon penalty; he was detained a cloſe priſoner at Carliſle, under a *præmunire*, till releaſed by the king's declaration in 1672. He was fined for a meeting, when he was under reſtraint ſeveral miles from it. On the ſtatute of the 23d of *Elizabeth*, he was caſt into gaol,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 554—557.

and

and confined there ſeveral years, till his death. Not long before his deceaſe, being viſited by ſome of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulneſs in theſe words: "If you "continue faithful unto the Lord whilſt you live in this "world, he will reward you, as he now rewards me, with "his ſweet peace." He was ſo confident in his opinion concerning tithes, that he not only refuſed to pay, but to receive them; for inheriting from his anceſtors an impropriation of 10l. per annum, he quitted all claim to it for himſelf, his heirs and aſſigns for ever, and by a legal inſtrument releaſed the owners of the lands from whence the tithes accrued.*

Another eminent miniſter and member of this ſociety, who finiſhed an uſeful life, this year, was *William Gibſon* of London. He was born at Caton in Lancaſhire, in 1629, and, in the civil wars, enliſted as a ſoldier. Being in the garriſon at Carliſle, he went to a *quakers'* meeting, with three of his comrades, to inſult and abuſe the preacher; arriving at the place before his companions, after the miniſter had begun, he was ſo impreſſed and affected, that, inſtead of executing his purpoſe, he ſtept up near to the preacher to defend him from inſult, if it ſhould be offered. From that time he frequented the meetings of the ſociety, ſoon quitted his military employment, and after three years became a preacher. In 1662 he married and ſettled near Warrington, and his miniſtry, while reſident in that country, was very ſucceſsful; and on his removal, he left a good report and impreſſions of affectionate reſpect to his memory. He afterwards fixed in London, where his ſervice was conſpicuous againſt hypocriſy, formality, and libertiniſm, and his circumſpect converſation was a credit to his miniſtry. He ſuffered perſecution in the loſs of ſubſtance by various diſtraints, in divers impriſonments, and in perſonal abuſes. In Shropſhire, the gaoler would not permit his food to be taken to him, but obliged him to draw it up by a rope, and alſo threw him down a pair of ſtone ſtairs, whereby his body was greatly bruiſed, and beat him to that degree that he was ill near ſix months. He was engaged in ſome controverſies concerning tithes; was the author of ſeveral treatiſes

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 34—37.

ſerviceable

ſerviceable at the time, and employed a part of his time in his impriſonments in writing epiſtles to his friends for their edification in righteouſneſs. He died, recommending union, and exhorting to faithfulneſs and confidence in the Lord, at the age of 55, and his funeral was attended to Bunhill-fields by many hundreds of friends and others.*

While the ſociety derived honour, at this period, from the virtues of character, and fortitude under ſufferings, of diſtinguiſhed members, it was greatly indebted to the able writings of *Penn* and *Barclay*. The former, the year before the king's declaration, 1671, employed the time of his confinement in priſon, in writing "The great cauſe of Liberty of Conſcience "briefly debated and defended;" and ſeveral other pieces. In 1675, on account of the diviſions and animoſities prevailing in the nation, he publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled "Eng-"land's Preſent Intereſt conſidered;" to ſhew the conſiſtency of a general liberty of conſcience with the peace of the kingdom; and the remedies which he propoſes to be adopted for allaying the heat of contrary intereſts were "an inviolable "and impartial maintenance of Engliſh rights; our ſuperiors "governing themſelves upon a balance, as near as may be, "towards the ſeveral religious intereſts; and a ſincere pro-"motion of general and practical religion." Solid reaſoning and a multitude of authorities are employed to ſupport theſe propoſitions, which form the ground-work of the treatiſe: "a work" ſays *Gough*, "wherein the liberal charity of real "chriſtianity, and the candid ſpirit of genuine patriotiſm, are "eminently conſpicuous." The Preface, addreſſed to the higher powers, exhibits a pathetick repreſentation of the ſeverities of the times; when "to ſee the impriſoned was crime "enough for a jail; to viſit the ſick to make a conventicle: "when whole barns of corn were ſeized, thraſhed, and "carried away; parents left without their children; children "without their parents, and both without ſubſiſtence. But "that which aggravates the cruelty," he adds, "is, the "*widow's mite* hath not eſcaped their hands; they have "made her cow the forfeiture of her conſcieece, not leaving "her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and what "is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy,

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 154—157.

"the

" the poor orphan's *milk*, boiling over the fire, hath been " flung to the dogs, and the ſkillet made part of the prize; " ſo that had not nature in neighbours been ſtronger than " cruelty in ſuch informers, to open her bowels for their " relief and ſubſiſtence, they muſt have utterly periſhed." In the ſame year in which this piece appeared, *Penn* likewiſe wrote a treatiſe on oaths, to ſhew the reaſon for not ſwearing at all.*

A work of extenſive and permanent celebrity came this year from the pen of *Robert Barclay*, entitled " An Apology " for the true Chriſtian Divinity, being an explanation and " vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people " called *quakers*." It was prefaced with an addreſs to king *Charles* II. remarkable for its plain dealing and honeſt ſimplicity, and as important, curious, and extraordinary as any part of the work. It has been admired both by our own countrymen and ſtrangers. The work itſelf has been univerſally allowed to ſurpaſs every thing of its kind, and to ſet the principles of the *quakers* in the faireſt light poſſible. The author ſent two copies of it to each of the publick miniſters, then at the famous congreſs of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and reſpect, and the knowledge, charity, and diſintereſted probity of its author juſtly applauded. It was printed in *Latin* at Amſterdam, in 1676, and was quickly tranſlated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French and Spaniſh. As it attracted great notice, ſo it drew out various anſwers, abroad and at home; ſome from the pens of men, who had before gained a conſiderable reputation in the learned world. Theſe replies contributed to ſpread and advance the fame of *Barclay*'s work; and it is remarkable, that while theſe have been little regarded and ſunk into oblivion, this treatiſe maintains its celebrity. Though it had not the deſired effect of ſtopping the perſecution againſt the people, in whoſe cauſe it was written, " yet " it anſwered," as it is obſerved, " a more important end, " by ſhewing, that the pretences upon which they were " perſecuted, were falſe and ill-grounded; and that thoſe, " who, on one ſide, repreſented them as concealed papiſts, " and ſuch, as on the other hand denied their being chriſtians,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 397—400.

" were

" were equally in the wrong, and equally miſled by their " prejudices." The work did, in this view, great ſervice to thoſe of the author's perſuaſion; while *quakeriſm*, which before had been looked on as an heap of extravagancies and viſions, aſſumed in this treatiſe a ſyſtematick form, was reduced to fixed principles, and recommended itſelf to the judicious and enlightened mind. " It was an eſſay," ſays *Gough*, " to ſtrip *quakeriſm* of the diſguiſe in which enmity " or ignorance had dreſſed it up, and to repreſent it to the " world in its genuine ſhape and complexion. A work " which, with unprejudiced readers, anſwered the end of " its publication, and gained the author the approbation of " the ingenuous in general."* It is ſome proof of the high eſtimation in which it hath been held, that Mr. *Baſkerville* printed a very elegant edition of it. A Scots poet, writing of the two famous *Barclays*, *William* and *John*, hath concluded with theſe verſes upon *Robert:*

" But, lo! a third appears, with ſerious air;
" His prince's darling, and his country's care.
" See his religion, which ſo late before
" Was like a jumbled maſs of droſs and ore,
" Refin'd by him, and burniſh'd o'er with art,
" Awakes the ſpirits, and attracts the heart.†

In 1676 *Barclay* publiſhed a work entitled " The Anarchy " of the *Ranters* and other *Libertines*, the hierarchy of the " Romaniſts and other pretended churches, equally refuſed " and refuted." This is pronounced to be a learned and excellent treatiſe, containing as much ſound reaſoning as any book of its ſize in ours, or perhaps in any modern language. The deſign of it was to vindicate the diſcipline eſtabliſhed among the *quakers*, againſt thoſe who accuſed

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 401—406. Biographia Britan. vol. ii. 2d ed. Article *Barclay*. Dictionaire des Hereſies, vol. ii. p. 460. *Moſheim*, however, has not treated this work with candour or juſtice, but endeavours to depreciate it, and aſperſes the author, charging him with duplicity and with giving a fallacious account of the principles of this ſociety. By which he has expoſed himſelf to the juſt animadverſions of the hiſtorian of this ſociety. Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. v. p. 36, note (b) 2d ed. and Gough, ut ſupra.

† Biographia Brit. vol. ii. p. 602, of the 2d. edit.

them of confuſion and diſorder on one hand, or calumniated them with tyranny and impoſition on the other. The cauſes and conſequences of ſuperſtition on one hand, and of fanaticiſm on the other, we are told, are laid open in this very curious and inſtructive work, with much ſolidity and perſpicuity.* It drew upon its author, at the time of its appearance, much reproach and invective from certain *ſeparatiſts*, who had riſen up ſeveral years.

The leaders of theſe *ſeparatiſts* were *John Wilkinſon* and *John Story*, two miniſters in the North, who took diſguſt at the diſcipline of the ſociety, as an impoſition on goſpel liberty, and ſetting up ſome men in the church to uſurp authority over their brethren: "pleading that nothing ought "to be given forth in the church of Chriſt but by way of "advice or recommendation; and that every man ought to "be left at his liberty to act according to the light of his "own conſcience without cenſure, or being accountable to "any man, but to God, the ſole proper judge of conſcience." They, particularly, objected to women's meetings, as uſurping authority in the church contrary to the apoſtle *Paul*'s prohibition. They gained over adherents from the weaker and looſer members of the ſociety; and cauſed a rent and diviſion in the quarterly meeting of Weſtmoreland, to which they belonged. After ſeveral publications on this occaſion, *pro* and *con*, eſpecially by *William Rogers*, a merchant at Briſtol, in favour of the ſeparatiſts, and in reply by *Thomas Elwood*; and after the matter had been referred to different meetings, and their objections been heard, they found themſelves too looſely compacted to adhere long together; ſome, judging their ſeparation to be cauſeleſs, reunited themſelves to the body of the ſociety, and the reſt ſoon fell to pieces and dwindled away.†

When *James* II. came to the throne, the *quakers* drew up a petition, as we have ſeen, ſtating their grievous ſufferings by no leſs than ten penal laws; but it is not certain, whether they had an opportunity of preſenting it; for their proceedings were interrupted by the landing of the duke of

* Biographia Britan. vol. ii. p. 592, 3. Gough, vol. iii. p. 15.

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 9—24.

Monmouth,

Monmouth, which for a time engaged all the attention of the court and the nation. But in March 1685-6 they made an application to the throne, ſoliciting the liberation of their impriſoned friends, and they obtained a warrant for their releaſe, directed to Sir *Robert Sawyer*, attorney-general. He was then at his ſeat in Hampſhire; that this buſineſs might be expedited, therefore, *George Whitehead*, and *John Edge*, accompanied by *Rowland Vaughan*, waited on him there, and were received and entertained with great civility, till liberates could be made out for the priſoners in the city; after his return to London, by the exertion of the ſaid friends, the diſcharge of the priſoners in different parts of the kingdom was obtained.*

The attention which the king gave their grievances, in this and other inſtances, encouraged them to preſent a complaint and petition againſt the informers and their iniquitous practices. This was followed by a requeſt to the king to examine into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity to prove them to the informers' faces. The requeſt was granted, and a commiſſion was iſſued to *Richard Graham*, and *Philip Burton*, eſqrs. who ſummoned the informers, ſufferers and witneſſes, to appear before them at Clifford's Inn, the 4th of June 1686. Fifty-four caſes were ſelected, from which to eſtabliſh their charges. When all the parties came to Clifford's Inn, the informers, ſeeing the numerous company that appeared againſt them, expreſſed their malice in this ribaldry; "Here come all the devils in "hell," and obſerving *George Whitehead*, they cried out, "and there comes the old devil of all." The firſt charge, proved in thirty-four caſes, was, that "they had ſworn "falſely in fact:" then were laid before the commiſſioners ſundry caſes, wherein the doors of houſes and ſhops were broken open with violence, by conſtables and informers, to make ſevere and exorbitant diſtraints, by which houſhold and ſhop goods were carried away by cart-loads. The commiſſioners grew weary before they had gone through one fourth of the caſes, and adjourned for ten days. At the ſecond meeting the lawyer, whom the informers had employed to plead their cauſe, was quickly ſilenced by the

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 164—169.

number of facts and the evidence produced, and before half the cafes, prepared for their cognizance, were examined, the commiſſioners thought they had ſufficient grounds for a report to the king. A report was accordingly drawn up, to which *George Whitehead*, on a ſight of it, objected as very deficient and improper; being rather a propoſal to limit proſecutions to the leſs ruinous penal laws, than a plain ſtate of facts, and of the various perjuries, and of the illegal and injurious acts of the informers. The reaſon of this was, that they had received a meſſage from a great perſon or perſons in the church, ſoliciting them to do or report nothing that might invalidate the power of the informers. But, on *Whitehead*'s pleading for juſtice to be done, in regard to matters of fact, the report was amended and framed more to the purpoſe. The king, on receiving it, referred it to the Lord Chancellor, in order to correct the irregular proceedings of ſome juſtices and the informers. He ſignified alſo his pleaſure to the ſubordinate magiſtrates and juſtices, that they ſhould put a ſtop to the depredations of theſe men; inſtead, therefore, of being encouraged, they were diſcountenanced. The court withdrawing its protection, other diſſenters proſecuting them, and the ſcenes of their iniquity being laid open, ſome fled the country, and the reſt were reduced to beggary.*

The *quakers*, who had ſuffered more ſeverely than any other ſects, that they might not ſeem leſs ſenſible of the relief they had received, when addreſſes were preſented to the king for his declaration for liberty of conſcience, alſo waited on him with an addreſs of thanks; firſt, from thoſe of their ſociety who reſided in or about London, and then in the name and on behalf of the community at large. And while the other diſſenters were cenſured in this buſineſs, as countenancing the king's diſpenſing power, the *quakers* were guarded in this reſpect; for they expreſſed their hope, "that "the good effects of the declaration of indulgence on the "trade, peace and proſperity of the kingdom *would produce* "ſuch a concurrence from the parliament, as would ſecure "it to their poſterity;" modeſtly hinting, it hath been obſerved, their ſentiments of what they apprehended yet wanting to be done to complete the favour.†

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 172—176. †Id, p. 189—195.

When

When the biſhops were committed priſoners to the Tower, and it was underſtood that they reflected on the *quakers* as belying them, and reporting that they had been the cauſe of the death of ſome of them, *Robert Barclay* paid the biſhops a viſit, and laid before them undeniable proofs, that ſome, by order of biſhops, had been detained in priſon until death, though they had been apprized of their danger by phyſicians who were not *quakers*; but, he added, "that ſince through "the change of circumſtances, they themſelves were now "under oppreſſion, it was by no means the intention of the "people called *quakers* to publiſh ſuch incidents, or to "give the king or their adverſaries any advantage againſt "them thereby." They were accordingly very careful to refrain from every meaſure, in word or deed, that might in any reſpect aggravate the caſe of the priſoners, eſteeming it no time to aggravate old animoſities, when the common enemy was ſeeking an advantage.†

When perſecution ſubſided, and liberty of conſcience was enjoyed without moleſtation, the *quakers* thought it a convenient ſeaſon to apply for relief in a point where they were ſtill expoſed to conſiderable trouble and detriment, and at their yearly meeting in London, in the ſummer of 1688, they drew up an addreſs to the king, ſoliciting him to interpoſe for their relief from ſufferings for tithes, and in the caſe of oaths. The addreſs was preſented and well received, but before the time for holding a parliament arrived, the king found it out of his power to redreſs their grievances, or ſupport himſelf on the throne. The legal confirmation and enlargement of their liberty were reſerved for the next reign.‡

During the ſhort reign of *James* II. the ſociety of *quakers* loſt ſeveral reſpectable members; the moſt eminent of whom was colonel *David Barclay*, the father of the apologiſt, of an ancient and honourable family in Scotland, a man univerſally eſteemed and beloved. He adopted the principles of the *quakers* in 1666, and is ſaid to have been brought over to them by Mr. *Swinton*, a man of learning, very taking in his behaviour, naturally eloquent, and in great credit among

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 198, 199. ‡ Id. p. 199—202.

them.

them.* The acquiſition of ſo conſiderable and reſpectable a perſon as colonel *Barclay*, was of no ſmall uſe to this perſuaſion. He was a man venerable in his appearance, juſt in all his actions, had ſhewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude in bearing all the hard uſage he met with in Scotland, with cheerfulneſs as well as patience; for he very ſoon found himſelf expoſed to perſecutions and ſufferings on the ſcore of his religion. He ſpent, however, the laſt twenty years of his life in the profeſſion with great comfort to himſelf, being all along bleſſed with ſound health and a vigorous conſtitution: and he met death, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, Sept. 1686, at his ſeat at Ury in Scotland, with reſignation and patience under great pain, and with the feelings of a lively hope. His laſt expreſſions were uttered in prayer: "Praiſes to the Lord! Let now thy ſervant "depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my "ſoul, ſpirit and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done on earth, "as it is in heaven." And ſoon after he breathed his laſt: and though he gave expreſs directions (agreeably to his principles) that none but perſons of his own perſuaſion ſhould be invited to his funeral, yet, the time being known, many gentlemen, and thoſe too of great diſtinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and publick ſpirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties.†

* This Mr. *Swinton* was attainted after the reſtoration of *Charles* II. for having joined *Cromwell*, and was ſent down into Scotland to be tried; it was univerſally believed, that his death was inevitable; but when he was brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, 1661, to ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not receive ſentence, having become a *quaker*, when he might have ſet up two pleas, ſtrong in point of law, he anſwered, conſonantly to his religious principles, "that he was at the time his political crimes were "imputed to him, in the gall of bitterneſs and bond of iniquity, but that, "God having ſince called him to the light, he ſaw and acknowledged his "paſt errors, and did not refuſe to pay the forfeit of them, even though "in their judgment this ſhould extend to his life." His ſpeech was, though modeſt, ſo majeſtick, and though expreſſive of the moſt perfect patience, ſo pathetick, that, notwithſtanding he had neither intereſt nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impreſſion made by his diſcourſe on that illuſtrious aſſembly was ſuch, that they recommended him to the king as a proper object of mercy, when they were very ſevere againſt others. Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 590, and Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 182.

† Gough, vol. iii. p. 181, 2, 3, and Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 590, 1. 2d edit.

On

On the 17th of July, 1688, died, at Warwick, in a good age, *William Dewſbury*, who was early diſtinguiſhed among the foremoſt members of this ſociety, by the depth of his religious experience, the eminence of his labours in the miniſtry, and the ſeverity of his ſufferings. He was firſt bred to the keeping of ſheep, and then was put apprentice to a clothier. In early life he was religiouſly inclined, and aſſociated with the *independents* and *baptiſts*. In the civil wars he entered into the parliament army, but as he grew more ſeriouſly attentive to religious conſiderations, the recollection of the words of Chriſt, "Put up thy ſword into the ſcabbard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my "ſervants fight;" affected his mind with a lively conviction of the inconſiſtency of war with the peaceable goſpel of Chriſt. Under this conviction he left the army, and reſumed his trade. When *George Fox* was at Wakefield, he joined him in fellowſhip and in the miniſtry. He travelled much in different parts of England to promote righteouſneſs, and to propagate what was in his view, divine truth; for which, like his brethren, he met with much perſonal abuſe, and was frequently thrown into priſon at various places, at York, Northampton, Exeter, London, and Warwick. In this laſt place he was detained till the general releaſe by king *James*. At length his health and ſtrength were ſo impaired by the many violent abuſes and long impriſonments he had endured, that he was obliged to reſt frequently in walking from his houſe to the meeting-place in the ſame town. A diſtemper contracted in priſon terminated his life. He was ſeized with a ſharp fit of it, when in London to attend the yearly meeting, ſo that he was obliged to return home by ſhort journies; but ſurvived his departure from the city only ſeventeen days. To ſome friends who came to viſit him, he ſaid, juſt before he expired; "Friends, be faithful, and truſt in the Lord your "God; for this I can ſay, I never played the coward, but "as joyfully entered priſons as palaces.—And in the priſon-"houſe I ſang praiſes to my God, and eſteemed the bolts "and locks put upon me as jewels, and in the name of the "eternal God I always got the victory, for they could not "keep me any longer than the time determined of him." Continuing his diſcourſe, he ſaid; "My departure draws "nigh;

" nigh; bleſſed be God I have nothing to do but to die, and " put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this body " of fleſh that hath ſo many infirmities; but the life that " dwells in it aſcends out of the reach of death, hell, and " the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown " for ever and ever." He concluded in prayer to the Lord for all his people every where, eſpecially for the friends then aſſembled in London, reaping the preſent reward of his fidelity, patience, and ſincerity, in peaceful tenour of his mind, and looking death in the face, not only without terror, but with an holy triumph over its power.*

The hiſtory of this ſociety has, with an impartial and commendable diſregard to the diſtinction of ſex, made honourable mention of thoſe women to whoſe piety and zeal it was indebted. One of theſe, at this period, was *Rebecca Travis*, born 1609, who had received a religious education, and was a zealous profeſſor among the *baptiſts*. In the year 1654, prompted by curioſity, but poſſeſſed with ſtrong prejudices againſt the *quakers*, as a people in the North remarkable for ſimplicity and ruſticity of behaviour, a worſhip ſtrangely different from all others, and a ſtrenuous oppoſition to all publick teachers; ſhe attended a publick diſputation between *James Naylor*, then in London, and the *baptiſts*; in which it appeared to her, he had the advantage, by cloſe and powerful replies, over his learned antagoniſts. This excited her deſire to hear him in the exerciſe of his miniſtry; ſhe had ſoon an opportunity of gratifying her wiſhes; and the reſult was, that from that time ſhe attended the meetings of this people, and after ſome time laboured herſelf in the miniſtry among them, in London and its neighbourhood. The impreſſions made on her mind by the preaching of *Naylor*, and her obſervation of his circumſpect conduct, engaged her affectionate eſteem for him, and ſhe cheerfully adminiſtered every charitable ſervice in her power to his relief under his grievous ſufferings; though ſhe was a woman of too much diſcretion and ſtability in religion to carry her regard beyond its proper limits, or to ſuch extravagant lengths as thoſe weak people who contributed to his downfall. She had the character of a diſcreet and virtuous woman,

* Gough, vol. iii. p. 223—228.

much

much employed in acts of charity and beneficence; of sympathetick tenderness towards the afflicted, and therefore one of the first of those faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned members of the community, was assigned; this care, in conjunction with others, she religiously discharged. After a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, she died in much peace, on the 15th of July, 1688, in the eightieth year of her age.*

Another of these women, who was esteemed an ornament to her profession, and who undauntedly suffered, when it fell to her lot, was *Ann Downer*, first married to *Benjamin Crasswell*, a grocer in Bishopsgate-street, and then to the celebrated *George Whitehead*. She was one of the first who received the doctrine of the *quakers*, when its ministers came to London, and at length became a preacher of it. In 1656 she was sent for to attend *George Fox* and his fellow-prisoners at Launceston, and travelled thither on foot, two hundred miles; on her journey she was instrumental to bring many over to the doctrine she published, some of whom were persons of account in the world. In 1658 she travelled in the southern counties, and the Isle of Wight. She was remarkably conspicuous in her day for her singular piety, benevolence and charity, spending much of her time in visiting the poor, the imprisoned, the sick, the fatherless, and widows in their affliction; and in her exertions to do good had few equals. She died on the 27th of August, 1686, aged sixty-three, expressing to her friends, who visited her, the sentiments of resignation and lively hope, and leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, whom she had helped by her charitable services.†

* Gough, vol. iii. p, 219—223. † Id. p. 183—185.

SECT.

SECT. III.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION,

AND THE

ACT OF TOLERATION.

THE REVOLUTION is the grand event, in which the affecting and intereſting ſcenes and tranſactions of the preceding periods, from the Reformation to the acceſſion of *William* III. happily and glorioufly cloſe. Here the ſtruggles of the ſeveral parties have their termination; and though the epiſcopal form of church-government obtains at laſt an eſtabliſhment and permanent pre-eminence, yet that ſuperiority is made eaſy to the other parties, by the ſecurity to their reſpective religious profeſſions, and by the equality among themſelves, which they enjoy by the ACT of TOLERATION. Here the reader pauſes with pleaſure and hope; humanity rejoices, that there is a period to the animoſities and calamities that had torn and afflicted this country nearly a century and half, and the proſpect of better times opens before the wearied mind. The hiſtory, through which he has been led, by its various details, giveth him a ſtrong impreſſion of the importance and happineſs of the æra to which he is at length arrived. Here *deſpotiſm* hath drawn its laſt breath; here religious *liberty* commenceth its reign: royal prerogative bows and yields to the voice of the people; and conſcience feels itſelf, though not entirely emancipated, yet walking at large and breathing the open air.

Our author's narrative affords convincing and ſatisfactory proofs of the importance and felicity of the new ſtate of things to which it brings us. But yet ſome conſiderations, ariſing from facts not mentioned by him, may be properly preſented to the reader, to heighten his ſenſe of the deliverance effected by the Revolution. Two ſingular doctrines had ibeenndufrioufly diſſeminated; viz. "That there was no "ſuch thing as *paſſive obedience* for the cauſe of religion; "and

"and that kings are so far *infallible*, as that what religion "they establish is the true worship of God in their domi-"nion." To insinuate more universally and effectually these sentiments, they were inserted, and enlarged upon in the *common almanacks*.* No doubt can remain concerning the design of *James* II. from a review of the measures he actually executed; and yet it is useful and interesting to bring forward the secret councils from whence those measures flowed, and to exhibit the systematical plan, for which, if they were not parts of it, and first attempts at the execution of it, they were evidently calculated to prepare the way.

Sometime before the abdication of *James*, "a Memorial" was presented to him, drawn up by a jesuit, and exhibiting the methods he should pursue, not only to root out the *protestant* religion, but to prevent even the possibility of its revival. The great outlines of the scheme were, "that a "council of reformation should be established, which avoid-"ing the name, as odious and offensive at the beginning, "should pursue some good and sound manner of INQUI-"SITION; nay, should order, in divers points, according to "the diligent and exact proceedings of the court of inqui-"sition in Spain:—that the authority of the church should "take place of the king's authority, and the civil powers "be subjected to the ecclesiastical:—that the state of the "catholick religion, and the succession of the crown, should "be so linked together, that one might depend on and be the "assurance of the other:—that new ways of chusing par-"liaments should be followed, particularly one very extraor-"dinary, viz. that the bishop of the diocese should judge "concerning the knights of the shire, and as they were "thought fit to serve in parliament by such bishops or not, "so they were to confirm the election or have a negative "voice in it. The catholick prince, whom God should send, "is represented as being well able to procure such a parliament "as he would have. Many new laws were to be made, that "should quite alter the whole constitution; but it was to be "made treason for ever, for any man to propose any thing "for change of the catholick *Roman* faith, when it was once "settled. As to those in low circumstances, effectual care

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. iii. p. 88.

"was

" was to be taken to keep them low. New methods were to " be obſerved for letting of lands, diſpoſing of children, and " ordering of ſervants." The 'Memorial' complains, " that " in queen *Mary*'s time, when ſo many were impriſoned, ſo " many ſtripped of their eſtates, and ſo many burnt, there was " a want of zeal, to the grief and diſcouragement of many; " that ſome things were then tolerated upon conſtraint and " fear of further inconveniencies; and it is added, that mat- " ters are not to be patched up any more by ſuch gentle and " backward proceedings. For it is laid down as a firſt " principle, that as ſoon as a good catholick prince ſhould " be eſtabliſhed upon the throne of theſe nations, he muſt " make account, that the ſecurity of himſelf, his crown, and " ſucceſſor, dependeth principally on the aſſurance and good " eſtabliſhment of the catholick religion within his kingdom. " The propoſals, in this piece, were brought forward, not " merely as meaſures which the writer deſired to ſee exe- " cuted; but ſuch as he apprehended, nay, was confident. " the temper and circumſtances of the nation would ſoon " afford an opportunity to accompliſh. Several things are " reckoned up, which gave great force to the *Roman Catho-* " *licks* in England. It is ſaid, that England would more " eaſily receive popery than any other *proteſtant* country; " nay, that difficulties which aroſe in ſome catholick countries " would not be found here. All now," ſays the author, " is zeal and integrity in our new clergy, (Almighty God be " thanked for it!) and no leſs in our laity, and catholick " gentlemen in England, that have borne the brunt of " perſecution."

Theſe ſpecimens of the deſigns formed, are proofs to what extent the ſcheme of combining the re-eſtabliſhment of popery with arbitrary power was to be carried; and ſhew what vaſt conſequences were involved in the ſucceſs of the ſpirited oppoſition that led *James* to abdicate the throne.

Important, valuable, and happy, as was the ſtate of things introduced by this event, eſpecially as it affected religious liberty, the operation of it was partial and limited: when even a *bill of rights*, after the ſettlement of king *William* on the throne, defined our conſtitution, and fixed the privileges of the ſubject, the rights of conſcience were not aſcertained,

nor

uor declared by that noble deed. The act of *toleration*, moved by lord *Nottingham* in the houſe of peers, and ſeconded by ſome biſhops, though more out of fear than inclination,* exempted from the penal ſtatutes then in exiſtence *proteſtant* diſſentients only, and not all of them, for the *ſocinians* are expreſsly excepted, nor did ſecure any from the influence of the corporation and teſt acts. It left the Engliſh *catholicks* under ſevere diſabilities; it left many penal ſtatutes unrepealed. The ſame reign which gave us the bleſſing of the *toleration act*, was marked by an act of another complexion; for the prince, to whom we owe the former, was prevailed on to paſs another ſtatute, adjudging heavy penalties, fines, and impriſonments, to thoſe who ſhould write or ſpeak againſt the doctrine of the Trinity. There are claims of power over conſcience not yet aboliſhed: there are rights of conſcience not yet fully recovered and ſecured. The very term *toleration* ſhews that religious freedom is not yet enjoyed in perfection; it indicates, that the liberty which we poſſeſs is a matter of *ſufferance*, lenity, and indulgence, rather than the grant of juſtice and right. It ſeemeth to admit and imply a *power* to reſtrain conſcience and to dictate to faith, but the *exerciſe* of which is generouſly waved. The time is, even now, at this diſtance from the Revolution, yet to come, when the enjoyment of religious liberty ſhall no longer be conſidered as a *favour*; the time is yet to come, when chriſtians, of religious forms and creeds, ſhall be on the equal footing of *brethren*, and of children in the houſe of the ſame heavenly *parent*; the time is yet to come, when *acts of toleration* ſhall every where give place to *bills* of RIGHT.

But, though much is yet wanting to complete and perfect the bleſſings of the Revolution; yet we cannot but review the *act of toleration* as a great point gained, as a noble effort towards the full emancipation of conſcience. The preceding periods had been only thoſe of oppreſſion and thraldom. The exertions of any to procure releaſe from ſevere laws, were rather attempts to gain the power of tyranniſing over conſcience into their own hands, that they themſelves might be *free*, and all other parties remain *ſlaves*, than liberal endeavours to aſcertain and ſecure to every one ſecurity and peace,

* Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 323.

in

in following the judgment of his own mind. The preceding ages exhibit a ſeries of ſevere ſtatutes following each other; from paſſing the act for burning of hereticks in the reign of *Henry* IV. to the enacting of that of *uniformity*, and of the Oxford conventicle acts, in the reign of *Charles* II. At the commencement of the Reformation, we have ſeen, that on the one hand they who could not admit, from religious reverence to the pope's authority, the ſupremacy of the king, and on the other, they who diſcarded any of the ſix articles which he formed into a ſtandard of faith, were alike doomed to the ſentence of DEATH. In the reign of *Edward* VI. the pious and amiable *Hooper*, for refuſing to wear a particular dreſs, was impriſoned; and *Joan Bocher*, who religiouſly read and diſperſed the *New Teſtament*, was burnt at the ſtake. Intolerant ſtatutes marked the government of queen *Elizabeth*. Perſecution, in various forms, by laws and by prerogative, ſtigmatiſed the ſucceſſive reigns of the *Stuarts*. In the interval, during the ſuſpenſion of their power, a ſevere ordinance againſt *hereſy* was paſſed: the livings of the epiſcopal clergy were ſequeſtered; thoſe miniſters ſuffered under ſevere oppreſſions, and *preſbyterianiſm* was found to be not more friendly to the rights of conſcience, or averſe from intolerance, than had been the fallen hierarchy. Amongſt two deſpiſed ſects, hated and perſecuted by all parties, the *baptiſts and quakers*, amongſt almoſt them only, the principles of liberty had found able and generous advocates; their writings placed the rights of conſcience on a broad and liberal bottom. But they could ſupport them by the pen only; they were never in power, and conſequently had never, in this country,* an opportunity to carry their principles into practice, and to ſhew that they could rule according to the maxims for which, when oppreſſed, they could forcibly plead.

This having been the ſtate of things, the *act of toleration*, the conſequence of the Revolution, was a great acquiſition. It

* It is ſaid in *this* country; for when the forming the government of Pennſylvania and Rhode-Iſland in America reſted, the latter with the *baptiſts*, and the former with the *quakers*, to their honour it ſhould be ſaid, their conduct was conſiſtent with the arguments they had advanced, and liberty of conſcience, on an extenſive and liberal ſcale, was a leading feature of each conſtitution.

was the firſt legal ſanction given to the claims of conſcience; it was the firſt charter of religious freedom; it was a valuable, important, and permanent ſecurity to the *diſſenting* ſubject. It opened to him the temple of peace, and afforded the long wiſhed-for aſylum. To adopt the language of high authority: "The *toleration act* rendered that which was illegal "before, now legal; the diſſenting way of worſhip is per- "mitted and allowed by that act; it is not only exempted "from puniſhment, but rendered innocent and lawful; it is "*eſtabliſhed*; it is put under the *protection*, and is not merely "the *connivance* of the law."* It hath been followed with an univerſal good effect and happy influence; it hath been the baſis of the religious liberty enjoyed ever ſince that period; and with reſpect to the ſtate of freedom and religious enquiry in theſe kingdoms, it was, as it were, a NEW CREATION. Before that period darkneſs, in a manner, hung over the ſpacious field of knowledge and divine truth, and the path to it was guarded by a flaming ſword. That act ſaid, 'Let there be light, and light there was.' "The "bounds of free enquiry were enlarged; the volume, in "which are the words of eternal life, was laid open to exa- "mination." And the ſtate of knowledge and liberty has been, ever ſince, progreſſive and improving.

To this general view of the effects of the REVOLUTION, it is proper to add; "that it drew conſiderable conſequences "after it all over Europe. It kept the reformed intereſt "from ſinking, ſecured the liberty of the Britiſh and the "Netherlands, and diſappointed the French of that univerſal "monarchy, which they had been eagerly expecting, and "had great hopes of reaching. And among other happy "fruits of it, it was not the leaſt conſiderable, that it was "the means of ſaving the poor Vandois of Piedmont, from "utter ruin, and of their re-eſtabliſhment in their own coun- "try. Theſe people were the remains of the primitive "chriſtians, who were never tainted with the papal cor- "ruptions and impurities. In the year 1686, the duke of "*Savoy*, at the inſtigation of *Lewis* XIV. becauſe they would "not forſake their religion, drove them from their houſes "and poſſeſſions, forced them out of the vallies, and obliged

* Lord *Manſfield*.

"them

" them to take ſhelter among the Switzers and others that " would afford them an aſylum. But, in September 1689, " eight or nine hundred of them aſſembled together in the " woods of Nion, not far from Geneva, croſſed the lake " Leman in the night, and entered Savoy under the conduct " of their miniſter M. *Arnold.* They marched through that " country, fourteen or fifteen days journey, in which march " they were obliged to climb up high mountains, force divers " ſtrait paſſes, well guarded by ſoldiers, with ſwords in their " hands, till at length they reached their vallies, of which " they took poſſeſſion, and in which, under the ſingular " protection of Providence, they maintained themſelves, " ſucceſsfully encountering their enemies, who at any time " aſſaulted them."*

Here ſeems to be a proper place, before the hiſtory of this period is cloſed, to notice a noble and generous exertion of a few *diſſenters*, which has with great good effect been reſumed and perpetuated to the preſent times. It was the founding a ſchool in Gravel-lane, Southwark, for the inſtruction of children in reading, writing, and arithmetick, and the girls in ſewing and knitting, and furniſhing them with books for their inſtruction in theſe arts, and with teſtaments, catechiſms, and bibles. One *Poulton* had opened a ſchool in theſe parts, and given publick notice that he would

* Calamy's Hiſtory of his own Times, MS. Dr. *Calamy* was told ſeveral remarkable particulars concerning this march, by Mr. *Arnold*, who came afterwards to England to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of king *William*. One was, that when they were come pretty near to their vallies, they were in ſuch ſtraits for proviſions, that they were in great fear of ſtarving. But there came a ſudden thaw, which in a night's time melted the ſnow, and in the morning they diſcovered a conſiderable quantity of wheat ſtanding in the earth, ready for the ſickle, which had been left there from the preceding ſummer, and had been covered all winter by the ſnow; the ſudden fall prevented the proprietors from reaping it at the proper ſeaſon. Theſe deſtitute people beheld it with admiration and thankfulneſs, reaped it with joy, and were ſupported by it after their return into their vallies, where, without ſuch a ſupply, they might have periſhed. Another reſource, eſpecially for their miniſters and ſchoolmaſters, was derived from the overplus of the collections made for them in England, during the protectorſhip of *Cromwell*, which had been lodged by them, when their wants had been effectually relieved, in the hands of the magiſtrates of Geneva, on condition of receiving ſuch an allowance from year to year as was agreed on. Calamy, ut ſupra.

teach

teach the children of the poor *gratis*. To counteract his deſigns, and to afford the poor an eaſy opportunity of having their children educated in *proteſtant* principles, three worthy gentlemen, Mr. *Arthur Shallet*, Mr. *Samuel Warburton*, and Mr. *Ferdinando Holland*, members of Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent*'s church, inſtituted this ſeminary, which has continued ever ſince, maintained by voluntary ſubſcriptions, annual collections, and legacies. The number of ſcholars at firſt was 40; afterwards it increaſed to 50; then to 140; and has ſince been 200. It was the firſt inſtitution of the kind, wherein the *proteſtant diſſenters* were concerned; and into it objects are received without diſtinction of party. Such an inſtitution has the merit of being a rational, fair, and benevolent mode of oppoſing ſuperſtition and bigotry, abridging no one's ſecurity and rights, and leaving the event to the operation of knowledge and underſtanding; and it reflects honour on the ſpirit and reſolution of its firſt founders, who ſet it on foot in the reign of the tyrannical and bigoted prince, *James* II. when the diſſenters had ſcarcely emerged out of a ſtate of perſecution.

It will not, it is preſumed, be thought beneath the importance and dignity of general hiſtory, to mention here two ſmall publications which the preſs produced at this period; eſpecially as the hiſtory, through which the reader has been led, records the virtuous and manly ſtruggles made to ſecure the liberty of writing and publiſhing on the ſubject of religion, according to the views any might entertain, and exhibits memoirs of the progreſs of theological enquiries. The importance of publications is alſo to be eſtimated, not by the number of pages, but by the nature of the ſubject, the ability with which they are executed, and the effect they produced, or the impreſſion they were calculated to leave on the publick mind.

One of the pieces, both anonymous, to which we refer, was entitled, "A brief Hiſtory of the *Unitarians*, called "alſo *Socinians*: in four Letters to a Friend." The publiſher, to whom they were written, having left them ſome time with a gentleman, a perſon of excellent learning and worth, they were returned to him with a letter, expreſſing great approbation of them, which was printed with each

edition. The firſt of theſe letters repreſented the Unitarian doctrine concerning the unity of God, the humanity of Chriſt, and the Holy Spirit, as the power and inſpiration of God; aimed to confirm and prove it by a ſeries of ſcriptural arguments, and cloſed with a conciſe hiſtory of it. The deſign of the three following letters, was to reply to the arguments of the orthodox; and, that the anſwer might be full and ſatisfactory, they were occupied in the illuſtration of all the texts uſually alledged as proofs of the Trinitarian doctrine. The paſſages out of the *Old Teſtament* are firſt explained, then thoſe out of the *Goſpels* and *Acts*, and laſtly thoſe out of the *Epiſtles* and the *Revelations*. This mode of diſcuſſing a queſtion, which depends purely on divine revelation, will be admitted to be proper and fair. It ſhewed that the author was not afraid to lodge his appeal with the ſcriptures, and it was adapted to lead the reader into an inveſtigation of their meaning according to the rules of ſober criticiſm and juſt explanation. It went, particularly, to obviate a reflection caſt upon the Unitarians, as exalting their reaſonings above the plain and expreſs revelation of the ſcriptures. The firſt edition of this Tract was in 12mo, in 1687. It was afterwards reprinted in a Collection of Unitarian Tracts, in quarto, 1691.

The other Tract publiſhed at this period, which I have mentioned as worthy of particular notice, was entitled "A Rational Catechiſm." It was diſtinguiſhed, not only by the good ſenſe, and the vein of cloſe, but familiar, reaſoning which ran through it, but by the peculiar method in which it was drawn up. Catechiſms, in general, have conſiſted principally, if not ſolely, of ſpeculative points, drawn from the theological ſyſtems of the day, and of the country where they are publiſhed. Theſe are conveyed in an authoritative manner, as abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation; and are to be committed to memory, without any attempt to prove them by reaſoning level to the capacity of the learner. The author of this Tract, conceiving that neglecting to examine into the bottom of things, was the cauſe of that variety of opinions from whence aroſe raſh judgments, animoſities, hatreds, and perſecution, began his piece with the firſt principles diſcernible in human nature; and, avoiding all ſentiments controverted

troverted amongſt Chriſtians, confined himſelf to thoſe truths only as all agree in, and which lead directly unto practice, profeſſing not to advance every thing that he might think uſeful, but only what he judged *moſt uſeful*. The dialogue, into which form the work is thrown, divides itſelf into three parts; the principles of natural religion; thoſe of chriſtianity, or the great advantages derived from the goſpel; and the rules of conduct which it ſupplies. The inſtructions and concluſions which the catechumen is led, in a great degree, to draw for himſelf, and by his own reflections, ariſe in a chain of reaſoning from this principle, "that every man ſeeks "happineſs;" which happineſs muſt be, principally, mental and ſpiritual. The means of attaining to it in the knowledge of God and the practice of his will are, hence, gradually, developed. This piece is aſcribed to Mr. *Popple*. It was firſt printed by licence, in 1688; another edition of it appeared 1690, 12mo. And it was reprinted at Amſterdam in 1712.*

* Preface to the work. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 263; and a Critical Review of it in the Bibliotheque Univerſelle et Hiſtorique, tom. ix. p. 95, &c.

AN ADDITION TO VOL. IV. p. 309.

December 11, 1729.

WAITING on *Arthur Onſlow*, eſq; ſpeaker of the honourable houſe of commons, he was pleaſed to ſuffer me to peruſe and afterwards to tranſcribe a marginal note, which he had written with his own hand to page 152, 153, and 154, of the firſt volume of my Abridgement of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, where the ſubject of which I was treating, was king CHARLES's celebrated declaration for eccleſiaſtical affairs, which bore date October 25, 1660.

I had ſaid, that the conceſſions there made were ſo highly pleaſing, that an addreſs of thanks was drawn up and ſigned by many of the diſſenting miniſters in and about London, &c.

The marginal note, before-mentioned, was in the words following:

" Both houſes of parliament did alſo ſeverally preſent to " the king an addreſs of thanks for this declaration: and in " the houſe of commons, November 6, 1660, a committee " was appointed to bring in a bill to make the declaration " effectual, and the perſon firſt named of the committee " was ſerjeant HALES, who was therefore very probably the " firſt mover of this bill. And as he was the next day (I " think it was ſo ſoon) made chief lord *baron*, it is not " unlikely that he was deſirous to leave the houſe of com- " mons with this mark of his moderation, as to the religious " differences of that time, and what he thought would be " the proper means to heal them. But his endeavours did " not ſucceed; for on the 28th of November following, the " bill being read the firſt time, and a queſtion put that the " bill be read a ſecond time, it paſſed in the negative: the " *yeas* 157, *the noes* 183. The tellers for the *yeas* were Sir " *Anthony Foby* and Sir *George Booth*; for the *noes*, Sir *Solo-* " *mon Swale* and Mr. *Palmer*."

NOTE. " Sir *Solomon Swale* was afterwards diſcharged " being a member of the houſe of commons, for being a " popiſh recuſant convict."*

I here inſert this for the uſe of poſterity.

* Dr. Calamy's Hiſtory of his own Life.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, ſet out by order of both archbiſhops, metropolitans, and the reſt of the biſhops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all parſons, vicars, and curates; as well in teſtification of their common conſent in the ſaid doctrine, to the ſtopping of the mouths of them that go about to ſlander the miniſters of the church for diverſity of judgment, and as neceſſary for the inſtruction of their people; to be read by the ſaid parſons, vicars, and curates, at their poſſeſſion taking, or firſt entry into their cures: and alſo, after that yearly, at two ſeveral times; that is to ſay, the Sunday next following Eaſter-day, and St. Michael the archangel, or on ſome other Sunday within one month after thoſe feaſts, immediately after the goſpel.

" FOraſmuch as it appertaineth to all chriſtian men, but eſpecially " to the miniſters and paſtors of the church, being teachers and " inſtructors of others, to be ready to give a reaſon of their faith " when they ſhall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now ap- " pointed your parſon, vicar, or curate, having before mine eyes " the fear of God, and the teſtimony of my conſcience, do acknow- " ledge for myſelf, and require you to aſſent to the ſame;

1. " That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, " wiſdom, and goodneſs; the maker and preſerver of all things; and " that in unity of this Godhead, there be three perſons of one ſub- " ſtance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the " Holy Ghoſt.

2. " I believe alſo whatſoever is contained in the holy canonical " ſcriptures; in the which ſcriptures are contained all things neceſ- " ſary to ſalvation; by the which, alſo, all errors and hereſies may " ſufficiently be reproved and convicted; and all doctrines and " articles neceſſary to ſalvation are eſtabliſhed. I do alſo moſt firmly " believe and confeſs all the articles contained in the three creeds; " the *Nicene creed*, *Athanaſius's creed*, and our common *creed*, called " the *Apoſtles' creed*; for theſe do briefly contain the principal articles " of our faith, which are at large ſet forth in the holy ſcriptures.

3. " I

3. " I do acknowledge alſo *that* church to be the ſpouſe of Chriſt, " wherein the word of God is truly taught, the ſacraments orderly " miniſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the authority of " the keys duly uſed: and that every ſuch particular church hath au- " thority to inſtitute, to change, and clean to put away, ceremonies, " and other eccleſiaſtical rites, as they be ſuperfluous or abuſed; " and to conſtitute others, making more to ſeemlineſs, to order, or " edification.

4. " Moreover I confeſs, that it is not lawful for *any man* to take " upon him any office or miniſtry, either eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, but " *ſuch only* as are lawfully thereunto called, by the high authorities, " according to the ordinances of the realm.

5. " Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen's majeſty's prero- " gative, and ſuperiority of government of all eſtates, and in all " cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal, within this realm and " other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God's word, " and of right to appertain to her highneſs, in ſuch ſort as is in the " late act of parliament expreſſed, and ſince then by her majeſty's " injunctions declared and expounded.

6. " Moreover, touching the biſhop of Rome, I do acknowledge " and confeſs, that by the ſcriptures and word of God, he hath no " more authority than other biſhops have in their provinces and dio- " ceſes, and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, " to be the ſupreme head of the univerſal church of Chriſt, and ſo to " be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an uſurped power, " contrary to the ſcriptures and word of God, and contrary to the " example of the primitive church; and therefore is for moſt juſt " cauſes taken away and aboliſhed in this realm.

7. " Furthermore, I do grant and confeſs that the book of com- " mon prayer and adminiſtration of the holy ſacraments, ſet forth by " the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the ſcriptures; and that " it is catholick and apoſtolick, and moſt for the advancing of " God's glory, and the edifying of God's people; both for that it is " in a tongue that may be underſtood of the people, and alſo for the " doctrine and form of adminiſtration contained in the ſame.

8. " And although in the adminiſtration of baptiſm there is neither " exorciſm, oil, ſalt, ſpittle, or hallowing of the water now uſed; " and for that they were of late years abuſed and eſteemed neceſſary, " whereas they pertain not to the ſubſtance and neceſſity of the ſacra- " ment, and therefore be reaſonably aboliſhed; yet is the ſacrament " full and perfectly miniſtered, to all intents and purpoſes, agreeable " to the inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

9. " Moreover, I do not only acknowledge that private maſſes " were never uſed amongſt the fathers of the primitive church, I " mean publick miniſtration and receiving of the ſacrament by the " prieſt alone, without a juſt number of communicants, according to

" Chriſt's

" Chriſt's ſaying, *Take ye, and eat ye*, &c. but alſo that the doctrine " that maintaineth the maſs to be a propitiatory ſacrifice for the " quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver ſouls out of purgatory, " is neither agreeable to Chriſt's ordinance, nor grounded upon " doctrine apoſtolick, but contrariwiſe moſt ungodly, and moſt inju- " rious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Chriſt, and his " only ſufficient ſacrifice, offered once for ever upon the altar of " the croſs.

10. " I am of that mind alſo, that the holy communion or ſacra- " ment of the body and blood of Chriſt, for the due obedience to " Chriſt's inſtitution, and to expreſs the virtue of the ſame, ought " to be miniſtered unto the people under both kinds: and that it is " avouched by certain fathers of the church to be a plain ſacrilege, to " rob *them* of the myſtical cup, for whom Chriſt has ſhed his moſt " precious blood, ſeeing he himſelf hath ſaid, *Drink ye all of this*; " conſidering alſo, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the " church, as *Cyprian*, *Hierom*, *Auguſtine*, *Gelaſius*, and others, ſix " hundred years after Chriſt, and more, both the parts of the ſacra- " ment were miniſtered to the people.

Laſt of all, " As I do utterly diſallow the extolling of images, " relicks, and feigned miracles; and alſo all kind of expreſſing God " inviſible, in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghoſt, in the form " of a dove; and all other vain worſhipping of God, deviſed by " men's fantaſy, beſides or contrary to the ſcriptures; as wandering " on pilgrimages, ſetting up of candles, praying upon beads, and ſuch- " like ſuperſtition; which kind of works have no promiſe of reward " in ſcripture, but contrariwiſe threatnings and maledictions: ſo I do " exhort all men to the obedience of God's law, and to the works " of faith, as charity, mercy, piety, alms, devout and fervent prayer, " with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only; " godly abſtinence and faſting, chaſtity, obedience to the rulers and " ſuperior powers, with ſuch-like works, and godlineſs of life com- " manded by God in his word; which, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *hath the* " *promiſe both of this life, and of the life to come; and are works only* " *acceptable in God's ſight.*

" Theſe things above rehearſed, though they be appointed by " common order, yet do I, without all compulſion, with freedom " of mind and conſcience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon " moſt ſure perſuaſion, acknowledge to be true, and agreeable to " God's word. And therefore I exhort you all to whom I have " care, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the ſame; that " we all joining together in unity of ſpirit, faith and charity, may " alſo at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that " through the merits and death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom, " with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all glory and empire, now " and for ever. *Amen.*"

A Copy

No. II.

A Copy of the LETTER ſent to the Biſhops and Paſtors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichriſt, and profeſs the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity.

The Superintendent Miniſters, and Commiſſioners of Charges within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichriſt, and do profeſs with them the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity, deſire the perpetual increaſe of the Holy Spirit.

BY word and writ, it is come to our knowledge (reverend paſtors) that divers of our deareſt brethren, amongſt whom are ſome of the beſt learned within that realm, are deprived from eccleſiaſtical function, and forbidden to preach, and ſo by you, that they are ſtraight to promote the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe their conſciences will not ſuffer to take upon them (at the commandment of authority) ſuch garments as idolaters, in time of blindneſs, have uſed in their idolatry, which bruit cannot be but moſt dolorous to our hearts, mindful of that ſentence of the apoſtle, ſaying, "if ye "bite and devour one another, take heed, leſt ye be conſumed one of "another." We purpoſe not at this preſent to enter into the ground of that queſtion which we hear of, either part to be agitate with greater vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that ſuch apparel is to be counted amongſt things that are ſimply indifferent or not; but in the bowels of the Lord Jeſus we crave that chriſtian charity may ſo prevail in you, we ſay, the paſtors and leaders of the flock within that realm,

That ye do not to others that which ye would not others ſhould do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conſcience of man is. All that have knowledge are not alike perſuaded, your conſciences reclaim not at wearing of ſuch garments, but many thouſands, both godly and learned, are otherwiſe perſuaded, whoſe conſciences are continually ſtricken with theſe ſentences: What hath Chriſt Jeſus to do with *Belial?* What fellowſhip is there betwixt darkneſs and light? If ſurplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, what hath the preachers of chriſtian liberty, and the open rebukers of all ſuperſtition, to do with the dregs of the *Romiſh* beaſt? Our brethren that of conſcience refuſe that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, or moleſt you that uſe ſuch vain trifles: if ye ſhall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with extremity, which is uſed againſt

thoſe godly, and our beloved brethren. Colour of rhetorick, or manly perſuaſion, will we uſe none, but charitably we deſire you to call that ſentence of pity to mind:—Feed the flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not as though ye were lords over God's heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flock. And further alſo, we deſire you to meditate that ſentence of the apoſtle, ſaying, Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Grecians, nor to the church of God. In what condition of time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Chriſt's kingdom, we ſuppoſe you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumſpectly, than that for ſuch vanities the godly ſhould be troubled. For all things that may ſeem lawful, edify not. If the commandment of authority urge the conſcience of yours and our brethren, more than they can bear; we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember, that ye are called the light of the world and the earth.

All civil authority hath not the light of God always ſhining before their eyes in their ſtatutes and commandments; but their affections oft-time ſavour too much of the earth, and of worldly wiſdom.

And therefore we think that ye ſhould boldly oppone yourſelves to all power, that will or dare extol itſelf, not only againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as do burthen the conſciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them by his own word. But herein we confeſs our offence, in that we have entered farther in reaſoning than we purpoſed and promiſed at the beginning: and therefore we ſhortly return to our former humble ſupplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuſe the *romiſh* rags, may find of you, the prelates, ſuch favours as our Head and Maſter commands every one of his members to ſhew one to another, which we look to receive of your gentleneſs, not only for that ye fear to offend God's majeſty, in troubling of your brethren for ſuch vain trifles; but alſo becauſe ye will not refuſe the humble requeſts of us your brethren, and fellow preachers of Chriſt Jeſus, in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly pomp, yet we ſuppoſe ye will not ſo far deſpiſe us, but that ye will eſteem us to be of the number of thoſe that fight againſt that Roman antichriſt, and travel, that the kingdom of Chriſt Jeſus univerſally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil; iniquity abounds; chriſtian charity (alas!) is waxen cold; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch: for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear, before whom we your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our adminiſtration.

And thus, in concluſion, we once again crave favour to our brethren, which granted, ye in the Lord ſhall command us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jeſus rule your hearts in his true fear to the end, and give unto you and unto us victory over that conjured enemy of all true religion; to wit, over that Roman antichriſt,

antichriſt, whoſe wounded head Satan, by all means, labours to cure again, but to deſtruction ſhall he and his maintainers go, by the power of the Lord Jeſus: to whoſe mighty power and protection we heartily commit you.

Subſcribed by the hands of ſuperintendents, one part of miniſters, and ſcribed in our general aſſemblies and fourth ſeſſion thereof. At Edinburgh, the 28th day of December, 1566.

Your loving brethren, and fellow preachers,
in Chriſt Jeſus.

JO. CRAIG,
DA. LYNDESAY,
GUIL. GISLISOMUS,
JO. SPOTTISWOOD,
JO. ROW,
ROB. PONT,
JO. WIRAM,
JACO. MAILVIL,
JO. ERSKIN,
NIC. SPITAL.

No. III.

JOHN FOX's Letter to Queen ELIZABETH, to diſſuade her from burning two Dutch Anabaptiſts for Hereſy in Smithfield. 1575.

SERENISSIMA beatiſſima princeps, regina illuſtriſſima, patriæ decus, ſæculi ornamentum! Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit longius quam ut majeſtatis tuæ ampliſſimam excellentiam moleſta unquam interpellatione obturbarem; ita vehementer dolet ſilentium hoc, quo hactenus conſtanter ſum uſus, non eadem conſtantia perpetuo tueri ita ut volebam licuiſſe. Ita nunc præter ſpem ac opinionem meam neſcio qua infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime, id contra me maxime faciat hoc tempore. Qui cum ita vixerim hucuſque, ut moleſtus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogor contra naturam principi etiam ipſi eſſe importunus, non re ulla aut cauſa mea, ſed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior ſit et luctuoſior, hoc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum ſtimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia hîc eſſe non Anglos, ſed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim feminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot feliciter reducti publica luerunt pœnitentia; complures in exilium ſunt condemnati, idque rectiſſime meo judicio factum eſſe arbitror. Jam ex hoc numero unum eſſe aut alterum audio, de quibus ultimum exuſtionis ſupplicium (niſi ſuccurrat tua pietas) brevi eſt ſtatuendum. Qua una in re duo contineri perſpicio,

quorum

quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad ſupplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipſis nihil poſſit abſurdius eſſe, ſanus nemo eſt qui dubitat, mirorque tam fæda opinionum portenta in quoſquam potuiſſe Chriſtianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, ſi divina paululum luce deſtituti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque hoc nomine Chriſto gratias quam maximas habeo, quòd Anglorum hodie neminem huic inſaniæ affinem video. Quod igitur ad phanaticas iſtas ſectas attinet, eas certe in republica nullo modo fovendas eſſe, ſed idonea comprimendas correctione cenſeo. Verum enim vero ignibus ac flammis pice ac ſulphure æſtuantibus viva miſerorum corpora torrefacere, judicii magis cœcitate quam impetu voluntatis errantium, durum iſtud ac Romani magis exempli eſſe quam evangelicæ conſuetudinis videtur, ac plane ejuſmodi, ut niſi a Romanis pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio, primum profluxiſſet, nunquam iſtum Perilli taurum quiſquam in mitem Chriſti eccleſiam importaviſſet. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut erroribus cujuſquam faveam, dicta hæc eſſe velim; vitæ hominum, ipſe homo cum ſim, faveo; ideoque faveo, non ut erret, ſed ut reſipiſcat: ac neque hominum ſolum, utinam et pecudibus ipſis opitulari poſſem. Ita enim ſum, (ſtulte fortaſſis hæc de meipſo, at vere dico) macellum ipſum, ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris ſenſu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipſius valde admiror, venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ ſacrificiis olim parabantur, id proſpexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur quam ſanguis eorum ad baſim altaris effunderetur. Unde diſceremus, in exigendis ſuppliciis, quamvis juſtis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, ſed ut clementia ſimul adhibita rigoris temperet aſperitatem.

Quamobrem ſi tantum mihi apud principis tanti majeſtatem audere liceret ſupplex pro Chriſto rogarem clementiſſimam hanc regiæ ſublimitatis excellentiam, præ authoritate hac *mea* (*lege* tua) qua ad vitam multorum *conſecrandum pellere* (*l.* conſervandam pollere) te divina voluit clementia, ut vita ſi fieri poſſit, (quid enim non poſſet iis in rebus authoritas tua?) miſerorum parcatur, ſaltem ut horrori obſiſtatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur ſupplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, incluſiones retruſæ, ſunt vincula, ſunt perpetua exilia, ſunt ſtigmata et πλήγματα aut etiam patibula; id unum valde deprecor, ne piras ac flammas Smithfieldianas jam diu fauſtiſſimis tuis auſpiciis huc uſque ſopitas, ſinas nunc recandeſcere. Quod ſi ne id quidem obtineri poſſit, id ſaltem omnibus ſupplicandi modis efflagito, τῦτο τὸ πελαργικὸν pectoris tui implorans, ut menſem tamen unum aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculoſis erroribus dederit dominus ut reſaneſcant, ne cum corporum jactura, animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.*

* Fuller's Church Hiſtory of Britain, p. 104, 105.

No. IV.

A DIRECTORY of Church government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the times would ſuffer, practiſed by the firſt Non-conformiſts in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, found in the ſtudy of the moſt accompliſhed divine Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, after his deceaſe.

THE SACRED DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH DESCRIBED IN THE WORD OF GOD.

THE diſcipline of Chriſt's church, that is neceſſary for all times, is delivered by Chriſt, and ſet down in the holy ſcriptures; therefore the true and lawful diſcipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which reſteth upon any other foundation ought to eſteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular churches, there is one and the ſame right, order, and form: therefore alſo no one may challenge to itſelf any power over others; nor any right which doth not alike agree to others.

The miniſters of publick charges, in every particular church, ought to be called and appointed to their charges by a lawful eccleſiaſtical calling, ſuch as hereafter is ſet down.

All theſe for the divers regard of their ſeveral kinds are of equal power amongſt themſelves.

No man can be lawfully called to publick charge in any church, but he that is fit to diſcharge the ſame. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common gifts of all the godly; that is, with faith, and a blameleſs life: and further alſo, with thoſe that are proper to that miniſtry wherein he is to be uſed, and neceſſary for the executing of the ſame; whereupon, for trial of thoſe gifts, ſome convenient way and examination is to be uſed.

The party to be called muſt firſt be elected; then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is choſen, by the prayers of that church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual duties of him and of the church being before laid open.

The Miniſters of the Church are, firſt, they that are miniſters of the word. In their examination, it is ſpecially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and tried men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the faith.

Now theſe miniſters of the word are, firſt, Paſtors, which do adminiſter the word and ſacraments, then Teachers, which are occupied in wholeſome doctrine.

Beſides, there are alſo Elders, which watch over the life and behaviour of every man, and Deacons, which have care over the poor.

Further, in every particular church there ought to be a Preſbytery, which is a Conſiſtory, and, as it were, a Senate of Elders. Under the name

name of Elders here are contained, they who in the church minister doctrine, and they who are properly called Elders.

By the common counsel of the eldership, all things are directed that belong to the state of their church. First, such as belong to the guidance of the whole body of it in the holy and common assembly, gathered together in the name of the Lord, that all things may be done in them duly, orderly, and to edification. 2. *Then also such as pertain to particular persons. First, to all the members of that church, that the good may enjoy all the privileges that belong unto them, that the wicked may be corrected with ecclesiastical censures, according to the quality of the fault, private and publick, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's supper by suspension, (as it is commonly called) or out of the church by excommunication. The which belong specially to the ministers of publick charge in the church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving, or punishing them, and that for a time by suspension, or altogether by deposition.*

For directing of the eldership, let the pastors be set over it: or if there be more pastors than one in the same church, let the pastors do it in their turns.

But yet in all the greater affairs of the church, as in excommunicating of any, and in chusing and deposing of church ministers, nothing may be concluded without the knowledge and consent of the church.

Particular churches ought to yield mutual help one to another; for which cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

The end of this communicating together is, that all things in them may be so directed, both in regard of doctrine, and also of discipline, as by the word of God they ought to be.

Therefore the things that belong hereunto are determined by the common opinion of those who meet so to communicate together; and whatsoever is to be amended, furthered, or procured, in any of those several churches that belong to that assembly. Wherein albeit no particular church hath power over another, yet every particular church of the same resort, meeting and counsel, ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these meetings and assemblies, there are to be chosen, by every church belonging to that assembly, principal men from among the elders, who are to have their instructions from them, and so to be sent to the assembly. There must also be a care had, that the things they shall return to have been godly agreed on by the meetings, be diligently observed by the churches.

Further, in such assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see that the assemblies be held godly, quiet, and comely: therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the conference with prayer; to know every man's instructions; to propound in order the things that are to be handled; to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly.

The

The ſynodical Diſcipline gathered out of the ſynods and uſe of the churches which have reſtored it according to the word of God, and out of ſundry books that are written of the ſame, and referred unto certain heads.

Of the Neceſſity of a Calling.

LET no man thruſt himſelf into the executing of any part of publick charge in the adminiſtration of the word, ſacraments, diſcipline, or care over the poor. Neither let any ſuch ſue or ſeek for any publick charge of the church: but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and againſt a miniſtry of no certain place; and the deſertion of a church.

LET none be called but unto ſome certain charge ordained of God, and to the exerciſing of the ſame in ſome particular congregation: and he that is ſo called, let him be ſo bound to that —— church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the conſent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have firſt ſubſcribed the confeſſion of doctrine and of diſcipline: whereof let them be admoniſhed to have copies with themſelves.

In the examination of miniſters, the teſtimony of the place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may underſtood what life and converſation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any hereſy, or to the reading of any heretical books, or to curious and ſtrange queſtions, and idle ſpeculations; or rather, whether he be accounted ſound and conſenting in all things to the doctrine received in the church. Whereunto if he agree, he is alſo to expound ſome part of the holy ſcriptures twice or oftner, as it ſhall ſeem meet to the examiners, and that before the conference, and that church which is intereſted. Let him alſo be demanded of the principal heads of divinity: and whether he will diligently execute and diſcharge his miniſtry; and in the execution thereof propound unto himſelf, not his own deſires and commodities, but the glory of God and edification of the church. Laſtly, whether he will be ſtudious and careful to maintain and preſerve wholeſome doctrine, and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Thus let the miniſter be examined, not only by one elderſhip, but alſo by ſome greater meeting and aſſembly.

Of Election.

BEFORE the election of a miniſter, and the deliberation of the conference concerning the ſame, let there be a day of faſt kept in the church intereſted.

Of

Of the Place of exerciſing this Calling.

ALBEIT it be lawful for a miniſter, upon juſt occaſion, to preach in another church than that whereof he is miniſter; yet none may exerciſe any ordinary miniſtry elſewhere, but for a certain time, upon great occaſion, and by the conſent of his church and conference.

Of the office of the Miniſters of the Word; and firſt of the order of Liturgy or Common Prayer.

LET the miniſter that is to preach, name a pſalm, or a part of a pſalm (beginning with the firſt, and ſo proceeding) that may be ſung by the church, noting to them the end of their ſinging, (to wit) the glory of God and their own edification. After the pſalm, let a ſhort admonition to the people follow, of preparing themſelves to pray duly unto God: then let there be made a prayer containing a general confeſſion; firſt of the guilt of ſin, both original and actual; and of the puniſhment which is due by the law for them both: then alſo of the promiſe of the goſpel, and in reſpect of it, ſupplication of pardon for the ſaid guilt and puniſhment, and petition of grace promiſed, as for the duties of the whole life, ſo eſpecially for the godly expounding and receiving of the word. Let this petition be concluded with the Lord's prayer. After the ſermon, let prayer be made again; firſt, for grace to profit by the doctrine delivered, the principal heads thereof being remembered; then for all men, but chiefly for the univerſal church, and for all eſtates and degrees of the people; which is likewiſe to be ended with the Lord's prayer and the ſinging of a pſalm, as before. Laſt of all, let the congregation be diſmiſſed with ſome convenient form of bleſſing taken out of the ſcripture; ſuch as is, *Numb.* vi. 24. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

Let him that ſhall preach chooſe ſome part of the canonical ſcripture to expound, and not of the *apocrypha*. Further, in his ordinary miniſtry, let him not take poſtils, (as they are called) but ſome whole book of the holy ſcripture, eſpecially of the New Teſtament, to expound in order: in choice whereof regard is to be had both of the miniſter's ability, and of the edification of the church.

He that preacheth muſt perform two things; the firſt, that his ſpeech be uncorrupt; which is to be conſidered both in regard of the doctrine, that it be holy, ſound, wholeſome and profitable to edification; not deviliſh, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and alſo in reſpect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by conſequent, that the ſame be fit and clear, and ſuch as may riſe upon the property of the word, grace of ſpeech, and ſuit of the matter; and not

not be allegorical, ſtrange, wreſted, or far fetched, Now let that which is ſuch, and chiefly which is fitteſt for the times and occaſions of the church, be delivered. Further, let the explication, confirmation, enlargement, and application, and the whole treatiſe and handling of it, be in the vulgar tongue; and let the whole confirmation and proof be made by arguments, teſtimonies, and examples, taken only out of the holy ſcriptures, applied fitly and according to the natural meaning of the places that are alledged.

The ſecond thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend gravity: this is conſidered firſt in the ſtile, phraſe, and manner of ſpeech, that it be ſpiritual, pure, proper, ſimple, and applied to the capacity of the people; nor ſuch as human wiſdom teacheth, nor ſavouring of new-fangledneſs, nor either ſo affectate as it may ſerve for pomp and oſtentation, or ſo careleſs and baſe, as becometh not miniſters of the word of God. Secondly, it is alſo to be regarded as well in ordering the voice, in which a care muſt be had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one tune) it may be equal, and both riſe and fall by degrees: as alſo in ordering the geſture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voice, there being avoided in it all unſeemly geſtures of the head, or other parts, and often turning of the body to divers ſides. Finally, let the geſture be grave, modeſt and ſeemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the geſtures of plays or fencers.

Theſe things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exerciſed to be made fit to preach: let there be, if it may be, every ſabbath-day, two ſermons, and let them that preach always endeavour to keep themſelves within one hour, eſpecially on the week days. The uſe of preaching at burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently; becauſe there is danger that they may nouriſh the ſuperſtition of ſome, or be abuſed to pomp and vanity.

Of the Catechiſm.

LET the catechiſm be taught in every church. Let there be two ſorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the ſum of religion by a ſuite and order of certain places of the ſcriptures, according to which ſome point of the holy doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the ſame ſort, but ſhorter, fit for the examination of the rude and ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's ſupper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or divine Service.

ALL the reſt of the liturgy or divine ſervice conſiſteth in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and, by the cuſtom of the church, in the bleſſing of marriage: the moſt commodious form thereof is that

that which is uſed by the churches that have reformed their diſcipline according to the word of God.

Of Sacraments.

LET only a miniſter of the word, that is, a preacher, miniſter the ſacraments, and that after the preaching of the word, and not in any other place than in the publick aſſemblies of the church.

Of Baptiſm.

WOMEN only may not offer unto baptiſm thoſe that are to be baptized, but the father, if it may be, or in his name ſome other. They which preſent unto baptiſm, ought to be perſuaded not to give thoſe that are baptized the names of God or of Chriſt, or of angels, or of holy offices, as of baptiſt, evangeliſt, &c. nor ſuch as ſavour of paganiſm or popery; but chiefly ſuch whereof there are examples in the holy ſcriptures, in the names of thoſe who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

LET the time of celebrating the communion be made known eight days before, that the congregation may prepare themſelves, and that the elders may do their duty in going to and viſiting whom they ought.

Of ſignifying their Names that are to communicate.

LET them which before have not been received to the Lord's table, when they firſt deſire to come to it, give their names to the miniſter ſeven days before the communion, that care of enquiring of them may be committed to the elders; that if there be any cauſe of hindrance, there may be ſtay made betime; but if there be no ſuch thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their faith, before the communion. Let this whole treatiſe of diſcipline be read in the conſiſtory: and let the miniſters, elders and deacons, be cenſured one after another; yet ſo that the miniſter concerning doctrine be cenſured of miniſters only.

Let them only be admitted to the communion, that have made confeſſion of their faith, and ſubmitted themſelves to the diſcipline; unleſs they ſhall bring letters teſtimonial of good credit from ſome other place, or ſhall approve themſelves by ſome other ſufficient teſtimony.

Children are not to be admitted to the communion before they be of the age of fourteen years, except the conſiſtory ſhall otherwiſe determine.

On the ſabbath-day next before the communion, let mention be made in the ſermon of the examination, whereunto the apoſtle exhorteth, and of the peace that is by faith; in the day of the communion,

nion, let there be ſpeech of the doctrine of the ſacraments, and eſpecially of the Lord's ſupper.

Of Faſting.

LET the day of faſting be publiſhed by the paſtor according to the advice of the conſiſtory, either for ſupplication, for turning away of calamities preſent, or for petition of ſome ſpecial grace. Let the ſermons upon the ſame day, before and after noon, (as on the Lord's day) be ſuch as may be fit for the preſent occaſion.

Of Holidays.

HOLIDAYS are conveniently to be aboliſhed.

Of Marriage.

LET eſpouſing go before marriage. Let the words of eſpouſing be of the preſent time, and without condition, and before ſufficient witneſſes on both ſides. It is to be wiſhed, that the miniſter, or an elder, be preſent at the eſpouſals, who, having called upon God, may admoniſh both parties of their duties. Firſt, may have care of avoiding the degrees forbidden both by the law of God and man: and then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any bond of marriage; which if they profeſs and be ſtrangers, he may alſo require ſufficient teſtimony. Further alſo, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge and be ſtrangers, he may demand convenient teſtimony of the death of the other party. Finally, let them be aſked if they be under the government of any? whether they whom it concerneth have conſented?

The eſpouſals being done in due order, let them not be diſſolved, though both parties ſhould conſent. Let the marriage be ſolemnized within two months after. Before the marriage let the promiſe be publiſhed three ſeveral ſabbath-days; but firſt, let the parties eſpouſed, with their parents or governors, deſire the publiſhing thereof, of the miniſter and two elders at the leaſt, that they may be demanded of thoſe things that are needful; and let them require to ſee the inſtrument of the covenant of the marriage, or at leaſt ſufficient teſtimony of the eſpouſals. Marriage may be ſolemnized and bleſſed upon any ordinary day of publick prayer, ſaving upon a day of faſt.

Of Schools.

LET children be inſtructed in ſchools, both in other learning, and eſpecially in the catechiſm, that they may repeat it by heart, and underſtand it: when they are ſo inſtructed, let them be brought to the Lord's ſupper, after they have been examined by the miniſter, and allowed by him.

Of

Of Students of Divinity, and their Exercises.

IN every church where it may conveniently be done, care is to be had that some poor scholars, studious of divinity, being fit for theological exerciles, and especially for expounding of holy scripture, may, by the liberality of the godly rich, be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the presence at least of one minister, by whose presence they may be kept in order, and in the same sort (as touching the manner of preaching) that publick sermons are made; which being ended, let the other students (he being put apart that was speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publickly, as is set down before: of whose opinion let the minister that is present, and is moderator of their exercise, judge and admonish the speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

LET the elders know every particular house and person of the church, that they may inform the minister of the condition of every one, and the deacons of the sick and poor, that they may take care to provide for them: they are not to be perpetual; neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

IN the consistory the most voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclesiastical things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common direction of the publick assembly, in the order of liturgy, or divine service, sermon, prayers, sacraments, marriages, and burials. Then with such also as pertain to the oversight of every one, and their particular deeds. Further, they are to cause such things as shall be thought meet, to be registered and written in a book. They are also to cause to be written in another book, the names of them that are baptized, with the names of their parents and sureties: likewise of the communicants. Further also are to be noted their names that are married, that die, and to whom letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

NONE is to be complained of unto the consistory, unless first the matter being uttered with silencing the parties name, if it seem meet so to be done by the judgment of the consistory.

In private and less faults the precept of Christ, *Matt.* xviii, is to be kept.

Greater and publick offences are to be handled by the consistory. Further, publick offences are to be esteemed, first, Such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a publick place, albeit few know it.

Thirdly, That are made ſuch by pertinacy and contempt. Fourthly, That for the heinouſneſs of the offence are to be puniſhed with ſome grievous civil puniſhment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in publick charge in the church, are to be depoſed alſo from their charges. They alſo are to be diſcharged that are unfit for the miniſtry, by reaſon of their ignorance, or of ſome incurable diſeaſe; or by any other ſuch cauſe, are diſabled to perform their miniſtry: but in the rooms of ſuch as are diſabled by means of ſickneſs or age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is diſcharged; and further, ſo as the reverence of the miniſtry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good order.

When there is queſtion concerning an heretick, complained of to the conſiſtory, ſtraight let two or three neighbour miniſters be called, men godly and learned, and free from that ſuſpicion, by whoſe opinion he may be ſuſpended, till ſuch time as the conference may take knowledge of his cauſe.

The obſtinate, after admonition by the conſiſtory, though the fault have not been ſo great, are to be ſuſpended from the communion; and if they continue in their obſtinacy, this ſhall be the order to proceed to their excommunication. Three ſeveral ſabbath-days after the ſermon, publickly let be declared the offence committed by the offender. The firſt ſabbath let not the offender's name be publiſhed: the ſecond let it be declared, and withal a certain day of the week named, to be kept for that cauſe in faſting and prayer: the third let warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next ſabbath after, except there may be ſhewed ſome ſufficient cauſe to the contrary: ſo upon the fourth ſabbath-day, let the ſentence of excommunication be pronounced againſt him, that his ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great offences, opprobrious to the church, and to be grievouſly puniſhed by the magiſtrate's authority; albeit he profeſs his repentance in words, yet for the trial thereof, and to take away the offence, let him for a time be kept from the communion; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the conſiſtory, according to their diſcretion, determine; after which, if the party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly profeſſed his repentance before the church, by conſent whereof he ſhould have been excommunicated.

If the miniſters of any publick charge of the church commit any ſuch thing, they are to be depoſed from their charge.

Of the Aſſemblies of the Church.

PARTICULAR churches are to communicate one with another, by common meetings and reſorts: in them only eccleſiaſtical matters are to be handled, and of thoſe, only ſuch as pertain to the churches of

of that reſort; concerning other churches, unleſs they be deſired, they are to determine nothing farther than to refer ſuch matters to their next common and great meeting.

Let the order of proceeding in them be this: firſt, let the ſurvey be taken of thoſe that are preſent, and the names of thoſe that are abſent, and ſhould be there, be noted, that they may give a reaſon at their next meeting of their abſence, or be cenſured by the judgment of the aſſembly. Next, let the acts of the laſt aſſembly of that kind be read, that if any of the ſame remain unfiniſhed, they may be diſpatched: then, let thoſe things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the preſent aſſembly; where firſt the inſtructions ſent from the churches are to be delivered by every one in order, as they ſit together, with their letters of credence. Secondly, Let the ſtate of the churches of that reſort be conſidered, to wit, how they are inſtructed and guided: whether the holy doctrine and diſcipline be taught and exerciſed in them; and whether the miniſters of publick charges do their duty, and ſuch like. Furthermore, they ſhall determine of thoſe things that do appertain to the common ſtate of all the churches of that reſort, or unto any of the ſame; which way may be ſufficient for the overſight of the churches. Laſtly, if it ſeem meet, the delegates preſent may be cenſured.

They that are to meet in ſuch aſſemblies are to be choſen by the conſent of the churches of that aſſembly and conference, to whom it may appertain.

Let ſuch only be choſen that exerciſe publick function in the church, of miniſtry or elderſhip, and which have ſubſcribed to the doctrine and diſcipline, and have promiſed to behave themſelves according to the word of God: notwithſtanding, it may be lawful alſo to be preſent for other elders and other miniſters; and likewiſe (if the aſſembly think it meet) for deacons, and for ſtudents in divinity, eſpecially thoſe that exerciſe themſelves in expounding the holy ſcriptures in the conferences, and be aſked their opinion; which in ſtudents is to this end, that their judgment, in handling matters eccleſiaſtical, may be both tried and ſharpened. But they only are to give voice which are choſen by the churches, and have brought their inſtructions ſigned from them.

If there fall out any very weighty matter to be conſulted of, let notice of it be given to the moderator of the aſſembly next going before, or to the miniſter of that church where the next meeting is to be: the ſame is to ſend word of it in due time to the miniſter of every church of that aſſembly, that they may communicate it aforehand with thoſe to whom it appertaineth, that the delegates reſorting to the next meeting may underſtand and report their judgments.

In appointing of the place for the aſſembly, regard muſt be had of the convenient diſtance, and other commodities, that no part may juſtly complain that they are burthenſome above others.

In every ſuch eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, it is meet there be a moderator: he is to have charge of the aſſembly, to ſee it kept in good order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The choice is to be in this manner:

The moderator of the former aſſembly of that kind, or, in his abſence, the miniſter of the church where they meet, having firſt prayed fitly to that purpoſe, is to move the aſſembly to chooſe a moderator. He being choſen, is to provide that the things done in the aſſembly may be written, that the delegates of every church may write them out, and communicate them with the conferences from whence they came.

The moderator is alſo, by the order and judgment of the aſſembly, to give anſwer, either by ſpeech or by letters, to ſuch as deſire any anſwer; and to execute cenſures, if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly: exhorting to meekneſs, moderation of ſpirit, and forbearing one of another where need ſhall be, and referring it to the aſſembly to take order for ſuch as are obſtinate and contentious. Laſtly, he is to remember them of the next meeting following, with thanks for their pains, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their callings; and ſo courteouſly to diſmiſs the aſſembly. Before ſuch time none may depart without leave of the aſſembly.

Thoſe aſſemblies, according to their kinds, have great authority, if they be greater, and leſs if they be leſs. Therefore (unleſs it be a plain act, and manifeſt unto all) if any think himſelf injured by the leſs meeting, he may appeal ſtill unto a greater, till he come to a general council; ſo that he aſcend orderly from the leſs to the next greater. But it is to be underſtood that the ſentence of the aſſemblies be holden firm, until it be otherwiſe judged by an aſſembly of greater authority.

Aſſemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

Conferences are the meetings of the elders of a few churches, as for example of twelve. There are to meet in a conference, choſen of the elderſhip of every particular church, one miniſter, and one elder. The conferences are to be kept once in ſix weeks.

They are ſpecially to look into the ſtate of the churches of that reſort and conference; examining particularly theſe ſeveral points: Whether all things be done in them according to the holy doctrine and diſcipline of the goſpel; to wit, whether any queſtions be moved concerning any point of doctrine? Whether the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline be duly obſerved? Whether any miniſter be wanting in any of thoſe churches, that a ſufficient one in due time may be procured? Whether the other miniſters of publick charge in the church be appointed in every congregation? Whether care be had of ſchools, and for the poor? Finally, they are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth

needeth the advice of the conference, for the advancement of the goſpel amongſt them.

Before the end of the meeting, if it ſhall be ſo thought good by them, let one of the miniſters aſſembled in conference, either choſen by voice, or taking it by turn, preach publickly. Of his ſpeech, let the reſt judge among themſelves, (the elders being put apart) and admoniſh him brotherly, if there be any cauſe, examining all things according to thoſe rules that are before declared in the chapter concerning the things that are to be performed by thoſe that preach.

Of Synods.

A SYNOD is the meeting of choſen men of many conferences: in them let the whole treatiſe of diſcipline be read: in them alſo (other things firſt being finiſhed, as was ſaid before) let all thoſe that are preſent be cenſured, (if it may be done conveniently) and let them alſo have a communion in and with the church where they were called.

There are two ſorts of ſynods; the firſt is particular, which comprehendeth both the provincial and national ſynod. A provincial ſynod is the meeting of the choſen men of every conference, within the province. A province containeth four-and-twenty conferences.

A fit way to call a provincial council may be this: the care thereof (except themſelves will determine of it) may be committed to the particular elderſhip of ſome conference within the province; which, by advice of the ſame conference, may appoint the place and time for the meeting of the provincial ſynod.

To that church or elderſhip are to be ſent the matters that ſeemed, to the particular conferences, more difficult for them to take order in, and ſuch as belong to the churches of the whole province; which is to be done diligently, and in good time, that the ſame may, in due ſeaſon, give notice of the place and time of the ſynod, and of the matters to be debated therein, that they which ſhall be ſent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the advice of the conferences.

Two miniſters, and as many elders, are to be ſent from every conference unto the provincial ſynod. The ſame is to be held every half year, or oftener, till the diſcipline be ſettled. It is to be held three months before every national ſynod; that they may prepare and make ready thoſe things that pertain to the national. The acts of the provincial ſynod are to be ſent unto the national, by the elderſhip of that church in which it was holden; and every miniſter is to be furniſhed with a copy of them, and with the reaſons of the ſame. A national ſynod, or convocation, is a meeting of the choſen men of every province, within the dominion of the ſame nation and civil government. The way to call it, (unleſs it ſhall determine otherwiſe)

wiſe) may be the ſame with the provincial, that is, by the elderſhip of ſome particular church, which ſhall appoint the time and place of the next national convocation; but not otherwiſe than by the advice of their provincial ſynod.

Out of every provincial ſynod there are to be choſen three miniſters, and as many elders, to be ſent to the national. They are to handle the things pertaining to the churches of the whole nation or kingdom, as the doctrine, diſcipline, ceremonies, things not decided by inferior meetings, appeals, and ſuch like. By the order of the ſame, one is to be appointed which may gather into one book the notes of every particular church.

Thus much for particular meetings; the univerſal followeth, which is called a general, or œcumenical council; which is a meeting of the choſen men of every national ſynod. The acts of all ſuch council are to be regiſtered and reported in a book.

The diſcipline, intitled, *the Diſcipline of the Church*, deſcribed in the word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the moſt pure fountain of the word of God; and containeth in it the diſcipline of the church that is neceſſary, eſſential, and common to all ages of the church.

The ſynodical alſo adjoined, as it reſteth upon the ſame foundations, is likewiſe neceſſary and perpetual; but as far as it is not expreſsly confirmed by authority of the holy ſcripture, but is applied to the uſe and times of the church, as their diverſe ſtates may require, according to the analogy and general rules of the ſame ſcripture, is to be judged profitable for the churches that receive it, but may be changed in ſuch things as belong not to the eſſence of the diſcipline upon a like godly reaſon, as the diverſe eſtates of the church may require.

The Form of the Subſcription.

THE brethren of the conference of *N.* whoſe names are here under-written, have ſubſcribed this diſcipline after this manner:—This diſcipline we allow as a godly diſcipline, and agreeable to the word of God; (yet ſo as we may be ſatisfied in the things hereunto noted) and deſire the ſame ſo acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawful means; that by publick authority of the magiſtrate, and of our church, it may be eſtabliſhed.

Which thing, if it may be obtained of her right excellent Majeſty, and other the magiſtrates of this kingdom, we promiſe that we will do nothing againſt it, whereby the publick peace of the church may be troubled. In the mean time we promiſe to obſerve it ſo far as it may be lawful for us ſo to do, by the publick laws of this kingdom, and by the peace of our church.

No. V.

A Letter of the Puritan *Miniſters impriſoned, to her Majeſty, in Vindication of their Innocence; dated April* 1592.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

" THERE is nothing, right gracious ſovereign, next to the ſaving " mercy of Almighty God, that can be more comfortable " than your highneſs's favour, as to all other your faithful and dutiful " ſubjects, ſo to us your Majeſty's moſt humble ſuppliants, who are " by our calling miniſters of God's holy word; and by our preſent " condition now, and of long time, priſoners in divers priſons in " and about the city of London; for which cauſe our moſt humble " ſuit is, that it may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, graciouſly to " underſtand our neceſſary anſwer to ſuch grievous charges as we " hear to be informed againſt us, which, if they were true, might be " juſt cauſe of withdrawing for ever from us your highneſs's gracious " protection and favour, which above all other earthly things we " moſt deſire to enjoy. The reaſon of our trouble is, a ſuſpicion " that we ſhould be guilty of many heinous crimes; but theſe ſup- " poſed crimes we have not been charged with in any due and ordinary " courſe of proceeding, by open accuſation and witneſſes. But being " called up to London by authority of ſome of your Majeſty's *com-* " *miſſioners in cauſes eccleſiaſtical*, we have been required by them to " take an *oath* of *inquiſition*, or *office*, as it is called; for not taking " whereof we were firſt committed to priſon, and ſince have conti- " nued there a long time, notwithſtanding that all of us, ſave one, " have been deprived of our livings, and degraded of our miniſtry.

" Wherefore, for that the oath is the next and immediate cauſe " of our trouble, we have made our anſwer firſt to that, and then " after alſo to the crimes that are ſuggeſted, and ſecretly informed " againſt us.

THE OATH.

" As for the *oath*, the reaſon why we took it not, is becauſe it is with- " out limitation of any certain matter, infinite and general, to anſwer " whatſoever ſhall be demanded of us. Of this kind of oath we find " neither rule nor example in the word of God; but contrariwiſe, " both precepts and precedents of all lawful oaths reported in the " ſame tend to this, that an oath ought to be taken with judgment, " and ſo as he that ſweareth may ſee the bounds of his oath, and to " what condition it does bind him, *&c.* But this oath is to enquire " of our private ſpeeches and conferences, with our deareſt and neareſt " friends; yea, of the very ſecret thoughts and intents of our hearts, " that ſo we may furniſh both matter of accuſation and evidence of " proof againſt ourſelves, which was not uſed to be done in cauſes of

" *hereſy*

" *hereſy* or *high-treaſon*; for theſe are the words of the ſtatutes of " your moſt noble father, *Henry* VIII.* *For that the moſt expert and* " *beſt learned cannot eſcape the danger of ſuch captious interrogatories* " *(as the law calleth them) which are accuſtomed to be adminiſtered by* " *the ordinaries of this realm; as alſo that it ſtandeth not with the right* " *order of juſtice, or good equity, that any perſon ſhould be convicted, or* " *put to the loſs of life, good name, or goods, unleſs it be by due accuſa-* " *tion and witneſs, or by preſentment, verdict, confeſſion, or proceſs of* " *outlawry:—And further, for the avoiding untrue accuſations and* " *preſentments which might be maliciouſly conſpired, and kept ſecret* " *and unrevealed, till time might be eſpied to have men thereof by malice* " *convicted*, it was ordained, that none ſhould be put to anſwer but " upon accuſation and preſentments taken in open and manifeſt " courts, by the oath of twelve men.†

SCHISM.

" *As to the charge of* Schiſm, *and that we ſo far condemned the ſtate* " *of the church, that we hold it not for any true, viſible church of God,* " *as it is eſtabliſhed by publick authority within the land, and therefore* " *refuſe to have any part or communion with it in publick prayers, or in* " *the miniſtry of the word and ſacraments:* if this were true, we were " of all men living the moſt unthankful, firſt to Almighty God, and " next to your excellent Majeſty, by whoſe bleſſed means we are " partakers of that happy liberty of the profeſſion of the goſpel, and " of the true ſervice of God, that by your highneſs's gracious govern- " ment we do enjoy. We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the ſight " of God, that this our church, as it is by your highneſs's laws and " authority eſtabliſhed among us, having that faith profeſſed and " taught publickly in it, that was agreed of in the convocation of " 1562, and ſuch form of publick prayers and adminiſtration of the " ſacraments, as in the firſt year of your moſt gracious reign was " eſtalbiſhed (notwithſtanding any thing that may need to be reviſed " and further reformed) is a true viſible church of Chriſt, from the " holy communion whereof, by way of *ſchiſm*, it is not lawful to " depart.

" Our whole life may ſhew the evident proof hereof; for always be- " fore the time of our trouble, we have lived in the daily communion " of it, not only as private men, but at the time of our reſtraint (as " many years before) preached and exerciſed our miniſtry in the " ſame; and at this preſent, moſt earneſtly beſeech all in authority " that is ſet over us, eſpecially your excellent Majeſty, that we may " ſo proceed to ſerve God and your highneſs all the days of our life.

REBELLION.

" Another crime ſuggeſted againſt us is, *that we ſhould practiſe or* " *purpoſe rebelliouſly to procure ſuch further reformation of our church*

* An. 25 H. VIII. cap. 14. † An. 55 H. VIII. cap. 15. §. 3d. " *as*

" *as we desire, by violent and undutiful means.* Whereunto our " answer is, that as we think it not lawful to make a schism in the " church for any thing that we esteem needful to be reformed in " it, so do we in all simplicity and sincerity of heart [declare] in " the presence of Almighty God (to whom all secrets are known) " and of your excellent Majesty, (to whom the sword is given " of God for just vengeance and punishment of transgressors) that " for procuring reformation of any thing that we desire to be re- " dressed in the state of our church, we judge it most unlawful and " damnable by the word of God to rebel, and by force of arms or " any violent means to seek redress thereof: and moreover, that we " never intended to use, or procure any other means for the further- " ance of such reformation, than only prayer to Almighty God, and " most humble suit to your excellent Majesty, and others in authority, " with such like dutiful and peaceable means as might give informa- " tion of this our suit, and of the reasons moving us thereunto.

SUPREMACY.

" The third crime misinformed against us is, *that we impeach your* " *Majesty's supremacy.* For answer whereunto we unfeignedly protest, " (God being witness, that we speak the truth herein from our hearts) " that we acknowledge your highness's sovereignty and supreme " power, next and immediately under God, over all persons, and in " all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, in as large and ample manner " as it is agnized by the high court of parliament in the *statute of re-* " *cognition*, and is set down in the oath of supremacy enacted by the " same; and as it is further declared in your Majesty's injunctions, " and also in the articles of religion agreed in the convocation, and " in sundry books of learned men of our nation, published and allowed " by publick authority. We add yet hereunto, that we acknowledge " the same as fully as ever it was in old time acknowledged by the " prophets to belong to the virtuous kings of Judah; and as all the " reformed churches in Christendom acknowledge the same to their " sovereign princes, in the confessions of their faith exhibited unto " them, as they are set down in a book named the *Harmony of Con-* " *fessions*, and the observations nanexed thereunto.

" And besides this protestation, we appeal to the former whole " course of our lives, wherein it cannot be shewed, that we ever made " question of it; and more particularly by our publick doctrine, " declaring the same; and by our taking the oath of *supremacy* as " occasion hath required.

EXCOMMUNICATION.

" *It hath been odiously devised against us, concerning the persons sub-* " *ject to excommunication, and the power thereof, how far it extendeth*; " touching the former—we judge not otherwise herein, than all the

" reformed

" reformed churches that are this day in the chriſtian world, nor than
" our own Engliſh church, both always heretofore hath judged, and
" doth ſtill at this preſent, as may appear by the articles of religion
" agreed by the convocation, and by a book of homilies allowed by
" the ſame, and alſo by ſundry other books of greateſt credit and au-
" thority in our church; which is, that the word of God, the ſacra-
" ments, and the power of binding and looſing, are all ordinances of
" Almighty God, graciouſly ordained for the comfort and ſalvation
" of the whole church; and that therefore no part or member of it is
" to be denied the comfortable, wholeſome aid and benefit thereof,
" for the furtherance of their faith, and (as need may require) of
" their repentance, *&c.*

" For the other part, how far this cenſure extendeth, we profeſs
" that it depriveth a man only of ſpiritual comforts, as of being par-
" taker of the Lord's table, and being preſent at the publick prayers
" of the church, or ſuch like, without taking away either liberty,
" goods, lands, government private or publick whatſoever, or any
" other civil or earthly commodity of this life. Wherefore, from our
" hearts we deteſt and abhor that intolerable preſumption of the
" biſhop of Rome, taking upon him, in ſuch caſes, to depoſe ſove-
" reign princes from their higheſt ſeats of ſupreme government, and
" diſcharging their ſubjects from that dutiful obedience, that by the
" laws of God they ought to perform.

CONFERENCES.

" Concerning our conferences, *we have been charged to have given*
" ORDERS, *and made* MINISTERS, *and to have adminiſtered the cenſures*
" *of the church, and finally to have exerciſed all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.*
" To which ſuggeſtion we anſwer, that indeed of long time we
" have uſed, as other miniſters have done, (as we think in moſt parts
" of the land) to meet ſometimes and confer together; which being
" granted to all good and dutiful ſubjects upon occaſion to reſort and
" meet together, we eſteem it is lawful for us to do ſo.

" For beſides the common affairs of all men, which may give
" them juſt cauſe to meet with their acquaintance and friends, mu-
" tually to communicate for their comfort and help one with another;
" men profeſſing learning have more neceſſary and ſpecial uſe of ſuch
" conferences, for their furtherance in ſuch knowledge as they pro-
" feſs.—But ſuch as are profeſſed miniſters of the word have ſundry
" great and neceſſary cauſes ſo to do more than others, becauſe of
" the manifold knowledge both of divinity, and alſo of divers tongues
" and ſciences, that are of great uſe for the better enabling them for
" their miniſtry; in which reſpect the conferences of the miniſters
" were allowed by many biſhops within their dioceſes, and to our
" knowledge never diſallowed or forbidden by any. Some late years
" alſo have given us more ſpecial cauſe of conferring together, where

" *jeſuits,*

" *jeſuits, ſeminaries, and other hereticks*, ſought to ſeduce many; and " wherein alſo ſome *ſchiſmaticks* condemned the whole ſtate of our " church, as no part of the true viſible church of Chriſt, and there- " fore refuſed to have any part or communion with it: upon which " occaſion, it is needful for us to adviſe of the beſt way and means " we could, to keep the people that we had charge to inſtruct, from " ſuch damnable errors.

" Further alſo particularly, becauſe ſome reckoned us to have part " with their ſchiſm, and reported us to agree in nothing, but to differ " one from another in the reformation we deſire; we have ſpecial " cauſe to confer together, that we might ſet down ſome things touch- " ing ſuch matters, which at all times, whenſoever we ſhould be " demanded, might be our true and juſt defence, both to clear us " from partaking with the ſchiſm, and to witneſs for us that we " agreed in the reformation we deſire.

" But as touching the thing furniſed of our *meetings*, that we " exerciſe in them all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, in making miniſters, " in cenſuring and excommunicating, in ordaining conſtitutions and " orders upon ſuch cenſures to bind any; we proteſt before God " and the holy angels, that we never exerciſed any part of ſuch juriſ- " diction, nor had any purpoſe agreed among us to exerciſe the ſame, " before we ſhould by publick law be authoriſed thereunto.

" Further alſo, touching ſuch our meetings, we affirm that they " were only of *miniſters* (ſaving in ſome parts where a ſchool-maſter, " two or three, deſirous to train themſelves to the miniſtry joined " with us) and the ſame, but of ſix or ſeven, or like ſmall number " in a conference, without all deed of appearance that might be " offenſive to any.

SINGULARITY.

" Which though it be not ſubject to any puniſhment of law, yet " is ſuggeſted againſt us by ſuch as favour not our moſt humble " deſire of a further reformation, to diſgrace us, and make us odious " with others, and chiefly with your excellent Majeſty; whereunto " our anſwer is, that the diſcipline of the primitive church is antient, " and ſo acknowledged by the book of *Common Prayer*—in theſe " words, *that there was a godly diſcipline in the primitive church*; " *inſtead whereof, until the ſaid diſcipline may be reſtored again, (which* " *thing is much to be wiſhed) it is thought convenient to uſe ſuch a form* " *of commination as is preſcribed.*

" Further alſo, if it pleaſe your Majeſty with favour to underſtand " it from us, we are ready to ſhew, that in ſuch points of eccle- " ſiaſtical diſcipline of our church, which we deſire moſt humbly may " be reformed, we hold no ſingular or private opinion, but the truth " of the word of God, acknowledged to be ſuch by all the beſt " churches and writers of ancient time and of this preſent age.

" Thus

" Thus have we declared, right gracious ſovereign, truly and ſin-
" cerely, as we will anſwer it before God, and to your Majeſty upon
" our allegiance, what judgment we are of concerning the matters
" informed againſt us; and further teſtify, that no miniſter within
" this land deſiring a further reformation, with whom we have had
" any private acquaintanceor conference of theſe matters, (whoſoever
" may be otherwiſe informed) is of any other mind or opinion in
" theſe caſes that have been named; by which declaration, if (accord-
" ing to our earneſt prayers to Almighty God) your Majeſty ſhall
" clearly diſcern us to ſtand free from all ſuch matters as we are
" charged with, our moſt humble ſuit is, that your Majeſty's gracious
" favour (which is more dear and precious to us than our lives) may
" be extended to us, and that by means thereof we may enjoy the
" comfortable liberty of our perſons and miniſtry, as we did before
" our troubles; which if by your highneſs's ſpecial mercy and good-
" neſs we may obtain, we promiſe and vow to Almighty God, and
" your excellent Majeſty, to behave ourſelves in ſo peaceable and
" dutiful ſort in every reſpect, as may give no juſt cauſe of your
" highneſs's offence, but according to our callings, both in doctrine
" and example as heretofore, ſo always hereafter, to teach due obe-
" dience to your Majeſty among other parts of holy doctrine; and to
" pray for your Majeſty's long and bleſſed reign over us," &c.*

No. III.

ARTICLES of RELIGION agreed upon by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1615, for the avoiding of diverſities of opinions, and the eſtabliſhing of conſent touching true religion.

N. B. In theſe articles are comprehended almoſt word for word the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth the 20th of *November* 1595. This mark ☞ points at each of them, and their number.

Of the Holy Scriptures and the Three Creeds.

1. THE ground of our religion, and the rule of faith, and all ſaving truth, is the Word of God, contained in the holy ſcripture.

2. By the name of holy ſcripture we underſtand all the canonical books of the Old and New Teſtament, *viz.*

* Strype's Ann. vol. ult. p. 85, &c.

OF

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The five books of *Moſes*,
Joſhua,
Judges,
Ruth,
The firſt and ſecond of *Samuel*,
The firſt and ſecond of *Kings*,
The firſt and ſecond of *Chronicles*,
Ezra,
Nehemiah,
Eſther,
Job,
Pſalms,
Proverbs,
Eccleſiaſtes,
The Song of Solomon,
Iſaiah,
Jeremiah, his prophecy and lamentation,
Ezekiel,
Daniel,
The twelve leſs prophets.

OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The goſpels according to *Matthew*,
Mark,
Luke,
John,
The Acts of the Apoſtles.
The epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans,
The firſt and ſecond *epiſtle to the Corinthians*,
Galatians,
Epheſians,
Philippians,
Coloſſians,
The firſt and ſecond *epiſtle to the Theſſalonians*,
The firſt and ſecond *epiſtle to Timothy*,
Titus,
Philemon,
Hebrews,
The epiſtle of St. James.
The two epiſtles of St. Peter,
The three epiſtles of St. John,
St. Jude,
The Revelation of St. John,

All which we acknowledge to be given by the inſpiration of God, and in that regard to be of moſt certain credit and higheſt authority.

3. The other books, commonly called *Apocryphal*, did not proceed from ſuch inſpiration, and therefore are not of ſufficient authority to eſtabliſh any point of doctrine; but the church doth read them as books containing many worthy things for example of life and inſtruction of manners.

SUCH ARE THESE FOLLOWING:

The third book of Eſdras,
The fourth book of Eſdras,
The book of Tobias,
The book of Judith,
Additions to the book of Eſther,
The book of Wiſdom,
The book of Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, called Eccleſiaſticus,
Baruch, with the epiſtle of Jeremiah,
The ſong of the three children,
Suſanna,
Bell and the Dragon,
The prayer of Manaſſes
The firſt book of Maccabees,
The ſecond book of Maccabees.

4. The ſcriptures ought to be tranſlated out of the original tongues into all languages, for the common uſe of all men. Neither is any perſon

perſon to be diſcouraged from reading the bible in ſuch a language as he doth underſtand, but ſeriouſly exhorted to read the ſame with great humility and reverence, as a ſpecial means to bring him to the true knowledge of God, and of his own duty.

5. Although there be ſome hard things in the ſcripture (eſpecially ſuch as have proper relation to the times in which they were firſt uttered, and prophecies of things which were afterwards to be fulfilled) yet all things neceſſary to be known unto everlaſting ſalvation are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that kind is ſpoken under dark myſteries in one place, which is not in other places ſpoken more familiarly and plainly to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The holy ſcriptures contain all things neceſſary to ſalvation, and are able to inſtruct ſufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to believe, and all good duties that we are bound to practiſe.

7. All and every the articles contained in the *Nicene Creed*, the *Creed* of *Athanaſius*, and that which is commonly called the *Apoſtles' Creed*, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by moſt certain warrant of holy ſcripture.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. THERE is but one living and true God, everlaſting, without body, parts, or paſſions, of infinite power, wiſdom and goodneſs; the maker and preſerver of all things, both viſible and inviſible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three perſons of one and the ſame ſubſtance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

9. The eſſence of the Father doth not beget the eſſence of the Son; but the perſon of the Father begetteth the perſon of the Son, by communicating his whole eſſence to the perſon begotten from eternity.

10. The Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one ſubſtance, majeſty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

Of God's eternal Decree and Predeſtination.

11. GOD from all eternity did, by his unchangeable counſel, ordain whatſoever in time ſhould come to paſs; yet ſo, as thereby no violence is offered to the wills of the reaſonable creatures, and neither the liberty nor the contingency of the ſecond cauſes is taken away, but eſtabliſhed rather.

☞ 12. "By the ſame eternal counſel God hath predeſtinated "ſome unto life, and reprobated ſome unto death; of "both which there is a certain umber, known only to "God, which can neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed."

13. Predeſtination to life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath conſtantly decreed

creed in his ſecret counſel, to deliver from curſe and damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto everlaſting ſalvation, as veſſels made to honour.

☞ II. 14. "The cauſe moving God to predeſtinate unto life, "is not the foreſeeing of faith, or of perſeverance, "or of good works, or of any thing which is in "the perſon predeſtinated, but only the good plea- "ſure of God himſelf."

For all things being ordained for the manifeſtation of his glory, and his glory being to appear, both in the works of his mercy and of his juſtice, it ſeemed good to his heavenly wiſdom to chooſe out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeſerved mercy, leaving the reſt to be ſpectacles of his juſtice.

15. Such as are predeſtinated unto life be called according unto God's purpoſe, (his ſpirit working in due ſeaſon) and through grace they obey the calling; they be juſtified freely; they be made ſons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt; they walk religiouſly in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlaſting felicity.

☞ IV. "But ſuch as are not predeſtinated to ſalvation ſhall "finally be condemned for their ſins."

16. The godly conſideration of predeſtination, and our election in Chriſt, is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort to godly perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the ſpirit of Chriſt, mortifying the works of the fleſh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well becauſe it doth greatly confirm and eſtabliſh their faith of eternal ſalvation to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their love towards God; and on the contrary ſide, for curious and carnal perſons, lacking the ſpirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their eyes the ſentence of God's predeſtination is very dangerous.

17. We muſt receive God's promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth unto us in holy ſcripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſsly declared unto us in the word of God.

Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. IN the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the ſpace of ſix days, created all things; and afterwards by his providence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his own will.

19. The principal creatures are angels and men.

20. Of angels, ſome continued in that holy ſtate wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for ever eſtabliſhed therein; others fell from the ſame, and are reſerved in chains of darkneſs unto the judgment of the great day.

21. Man

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which conſiſted eſpecially in the wiſdom of his mind, and the true holineſs of his free-will) had the covenant of the law ingrafted in his heart, whereby God did promiſe unto him everlaſting life, upon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his commandments, according to that meaſure of ſtrength wherewith he was endued in his creation, and threatened death unto him if he did not perform the ſame.

Of the Fall of Man, original Sin, and the State of Man before Juſtification.

22. BY one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin, and ſo death went over all men, for as much as all have ſinned.

33. Original ſin ſtandeth not in the imitation of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* dream) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every perſon that naturally is ingendered and propagated from *Adam*, whereby it cometh to paſs, that man is deprived of original righteouſneſs, and by nature is bent unto ſin; and therefore in every perſon born into the world it deſerveth God's wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remain even in thoſe that are regenerated, whereby the fleſh always luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and cannot be made ſubject to the law of God. And howſoever, for Chriſt's ſake, there be no condemnation to ſuch as are regenerate and do believe; yet doth the apoſtle acknowledge, that in itſelf this concupiſcence hath the nature of ſin.

☞ IX. 25. "The condition of man, after the fall of *Adam*, "is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare him- "ſelf, by his own natural ſtrength and good works, "to faith, and calling upon God."

Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleaſing and acceptable unto God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

26. Works done before the grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his ſpirit, are not pleaſing unto God, foraſmnch as they ſpring not of faith in Jeſus Chriſt, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the ſchool authors ſay, deſerve grace of congruity;) yea rather, for that they are not done in ſuch ſort that God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are ſinful.

27. All ſins are not equal, but ſome far more heinous than others; yet the very leaſt is of its own nature mortal, and without God's mercy maketh the offender liable unto everlaſting damnation.

28. God is not the author of ſin: howbeit he doth not only permit, but alſo by his providence govern and order the ſame, guiding it in ſuch ſort by his infinite wiſdom, as it turneth to the manifeſtation of his own glory, and to the good of his elect.

Of

Of Chriſt, the Mediator of the ſecond Covenant.

29. THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from the everlaſting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one ſubſtance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin, of her ſubſtance; ſo that two whole and perfect natures, that is to ſay, the godhead and manhood, were inſeparably joined in one perſon, making one Chriſt, very God and very man.

30. Chriſt, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a lamb without ſpot to take away the ſins of the world, by the ſacrifice of himſelf once made, and ſin (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for us perfectly; for our ſakes he endured moſt grievous torments immediately in his ſoul, and moſt painful ſufferings in his body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a ſacrifice not only for original guilt, but alſo for all our actual tranſgreſſions. He was buried and deſcended into hell, and the third day roſe from the dead, and took again his body, with fleſh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he aſcended into heaven, and there ſitteth at the right hand of his Father, until he return to judge all men at the laſt day.

Of the communicating of the Grace of Chriſt.

31. THEY are to be condemned that preſume to ſay, that every man ſhall be ſaved by the law or ſect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature; for holy ſcripture doth ſet out unto us only the name of Jeſus Chriſt whereby men muſt be ſaved.

32. ☞ VIII. "None can come unto Chriſt unleſs it be given "unto him, and unleſs he draw him. And all "men are not ſo drawn by the Father, that they ☞ VII. "may come unto the Son; neither is there ſuch "a ſufficient meaſure of grace vouchſafed unto "every man, whereby he is enabled to come "unto everlaſting life."

33. All God's elect are in their time inſeparably united unto Chriſt, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghoſt, derived from him, as from the head, unto every true member of his myſtical body. And being thus made one with Chriſt, they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

Of Juſtification and Faith.

34. WE are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, applied by faith, and not for

our own works or merits. And this righteouſneſs, which we ſo receive of God's mercy and Chriſt's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full juſtification.

35. Although this juſtification be free unto us, yet it cometh not ſo freely unto us, that there is no ranſom paid therefore at all. God ſhewed his mercy in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring any ranſom to be paid, or amends to be made on our parts, which thing by us had been impoſſible to be done. And whereas all the world was not able of themſelves to pay any part towards their ranſom, it pleaſed our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any deſert of ours, to provide for us the moſt precious merits of his own Son, whereby our ranſom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his juſtice fully ſatisfied; ſo that Chriſt is now the righteouſneſs of all them that truly believe in him: he for them paid their ranſom by his death; he for them fulfilled the law in his life; that now in him, and by him, every true chriſtian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; for as much as that which our infirmity was not able to effect, Chriſt's juſtice hath performed; and thus the juſtice and mercy of God do embrace each other, the grace of God not ſhutting out the juſtice of God in the matter of our juſtification, but only ſhutting out the juſtice of man (that is to ſay, the juſtice of our own works) from being any cauſe of deſerving our juſtification.

36. When we ſay, that we are juſtified by faith only, we do not mean, that the ſaid juſtifying faith is alone in man without true repentance, hope, charity, and the fear of God; (for ſuch a faith is dead and cannot juſtify;) neither do we mean, that this our act to believe in Chriſt, or this our faith in Chriſt, which is within us, doth of itſelf juſtify us, or deſerve our juſtification unto us, (for that were to account ourſelves to be juſtified by the virtue or dignity of ſomething that is within ourſelves;) but the true underſtanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, and the fear of God within us, and add never ſo many good works thereunto, yet we muſt renounce the merit of all our ſaid virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, ſhall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and imperfect, and inſufficient, to deſerve remiſſion of our ſins and our juſtification; and therefore we muſt truſt only in God's mercy, and the merits of his moſt dearly beloved Son, our only redeemer, Saviour and juſtifier, Jeſus Chriſt. Nevertheleſs, becauſe faith doth directly ſend us to Chriſt for our juſtification, and that by faith, given us of God, we embrace the promiſe of God's mercy, and the remiſſion of our ſins, (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth) therefore the ſcripture uſeth to ſay, that *faith without works*, and

and the antient fathers of the church to the ſame purpoſe, that *only faith*, doth juſtify us.

37. By juſtifying faith we underſtand not only the common belief of the articles of the chriſtian religion, and a perſuaſion of the truth of God's word in general, but alſo a particular application of the gracious promiſes of the goſpel to the comfort of our own ſouls, whereby we lay hold on Chriſt with all his benefits, having an earneſt truſt and confidence in God, that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's ſake.

☞ VI. "So that a true believer may be certain, by the aſſurance "of faith, of the forgiveneſs of his ſins, and of his "everlaſting ſalvation by Chriſt."

38. ☞ V. "A true lively juſtifying faith, and the ſanctifying "ſpirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, nor vaniſheth "away in the regenerate, either finally or totally."

Of Sanctification and Good Works.

ALL that are juſtified are likewiſe ſanctified, their faith being always accompanied with true repentance and good works.

40. Repentance is a gift of God, whereby a godly ſorrow is wrought in the heart of the faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former tranſgreſſions, together with a conſtant reſolution for the time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new life.

41. Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after juſtification, cannot make ſatisfaction for our ſins, and endure the ſeverity of God's judgment; yet are they pleaſing to God, and accepted of him in Chriſt, and do ſpring from a true and lively faith, which by them is to be diſcerned as a tree by the fruit.

42. The works which God would have his people to walk in, are ſuch as he hath commanded in his holy ſcripture, and not ſuch works as men have deviſed out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the warrant of the word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the law of God perfectly in this life, for in many things we offend all; *and if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us.*

44. Not every heinous ſin willingly committed after baptiſm, is ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt and unpardonable; and therefore to ſuch as fall into ſin after baptiſm, place for repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary works, beſides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of ſupererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden duty is required.

Of the Service of God.

46. OUR duty towards God is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our ſoul, and with all our ſtrength; to worſhip him, and to give him thanks, to put our whole truſt in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy name and his word, and to ſerve him truly all the days of our life.

47. In all our neceſſities we ought to have recourſe unto God by prayer, aſſuring ourſelves, that whatſoever we aſk of the Father in the name of his Son (our only Mediator and Interceſſor) Chriſt Jeſus, and according to his will, he will undoubtedly grant it.

48. We ought to prepare our hearts before we pray, and underſtand the things that we aſk when we pray, that both our hearts and voices may together ſound in the ears of God's majeſty.

49. When Almighty God ſmiteth us with affliction, or ſome great calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty cauſe ſo requireth, it is our duty to humble ourſelves in faſting, to bewail our ſins with a ſorrowful heart, and to addict ourſelves to earneſt prayer, that it might pleaſe God to turn his wrath from us, or ſupply us with ſuch graces as we greatly ſtand in need of.

50. Faſting is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined time of faſting. "As for thoſe abſtinences which are appointed by pub-
"lick order of our ſtate, for eating of fiſh, and forbearing of fleſh at
"certain times and days appointed, they are no ways meant to be
"religious faſts, nor intended for the maintenance of any ſuperſtition
"in the choice of meats, but are grounded merely upon politick con-
"ſiderations, for proviſion of things tending to the better preſervation
"of the commonwealth."

51. We muſt not faſt with this perſuaſion of mind, that our faſting can bring us to heaven, or aſcribe outward holineſs to the work wrought; for God alloweth not our faſt for the work's ſake (which of itſelf is a thing merely indifferent) but chiefly reſpecteth the heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requiſite, that firſt before all things we cleanſe our hearts from ſin, and then direct our faſt to ſuch ends as God will allow to be good; that the fleſh may thereby be chaſtiſed, the ſpirit may be more fervent in prayer, and that our faſting may be a teſtimony of our humble ſubmiſſion to God's majeſty, when we acknowledge our ſins unto him, and are inwardly touched with ſorrowfulneſs of heart, bewailing the ſame in the affliction of our bodies.

52. All worſhip deviſed by man's fantaſy, beſides or contrary to the ſcriptures (as wandering on pilgrimages, ſetting up of candles, ſtations, and jubiles, phariſaical ſects, and feigned religions, praying upon

upon beads, and ſuch-like ſuperſtition) hath not only no promiſe of reward in ſcripture, but contrariwiſe threatenings and maledictions.

53. All manner of expreſſing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, in an outward form, is utterly unlawful; as alſo all other images deviſed or made by man to the uſe of religion.

54. All religious worſhip ought to be given to God alone, from whom all goodneſs, health, and grace, ought to be both aſked and looked for, as from the very Author and Giver of the ſame, and from none other.

55. The name of God is to be uſed with all reverence and holy reſpect, and therefore all vain and raſh ſwearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithſtanding, upon lawful occaſions, an oath may be given and taken, according to the word of God, *juſtice, judgment, and truth.*

56. The firſt day of the week, which is *the Lord's day*, is wholly to be dedicated to the ſervice of God, and therefore we are bound therein to reſt from our common and daily buſineſs, and to beſtow that leiſure upon holy exerciſes, both publick and private.

Of the Civil Magiſtrate.

57. THE king's majeſty under God hath the ſovereign and chief power, within his realms and dominions, over all manner of perſons, of what eſtate, either eccleſiaſtical or civil, ſoever they be, ſo as no other foreign power hath or ought to have any ſuperiority over them.

58. We do profeſs, that the ſupreme government of all eſtates within the ſaid realms and dominions, in all cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal, doth of right appertain to the king's highneſs. Neither do we give unto him hereby the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments, or the power of the keys, but that prerogative only which we ſee to have been always given unto all godly princes in holy ſcripture by God himſelf; that is, that he ſhould contain all eſtates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be eccleſiaſtical or civil, within their duty, and reſtrain the ſtubborn and evil-doers with the power of the civil ſword.

59. The pope neither of himſelf, nor by any authority of the church or ſee of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the king, or diſpoſe of any of his kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any other prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to diſcharge any of his ſubjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majeſty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raiſe tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his royal perſon, ſtate, or government, or to any of his ſubjects within his majeſty's dominions.

60. That

60. That princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever, is impious doctrine.

61. The laws of the realm may puniſh chriſtian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

62. It is lawful for chriſtian men, at the commandment of the magiſtrate, to bear arms, and to ſerve in juſt wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

63. OUR duty towards our neighbours, is to love them as ourſelves, and to do to all men as we would they ſhould do to us; to honour and obey our ſuperiors, to preſerve the ſafety of men's perſons, as alſo their chaſtity, goods, and good names; to bear no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keep our bodies in temperance, ſoberneſs and chaſtity; to be true and juſt in all our doings; not to covet other men's goods, but labour truly to get our own living, and to do our duty in that eſtate of life unto which it pleaſeth God to call us.

64. For the preſervation of the chaſtity of men's perſons, wedlock is commanded unto all men that ſtand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God but that the miniſters of the church may enter into the ſtate of matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's law, either to vow the ſtate of ſingle life, or to abſtain from marriage; therefore it is lawful alſo for them, as well as for all other chriſtian men, to marry at their own diſcretion, as they ſhall judge the ſame to ſerve better to godlineſs.

65. The riches and goods of chriſtians are not common, as touching the right, title, and poſſeſſion of the ſame, as certain anabaptiſts falſely affirm; notwithſtanding every man ought of ſuch things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

66. Faith given is to be kept, even with hereticks and infidels.

67. The popiſh doctrine of equivocation and mental reſervation is moſt ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the ſubverſion of all human ſociety.

Of the Church and outward Miniſtry of the Goſpel.

68. THERE is but one catholick church, (out of which there is no ſalvation) containing the univerſal company of all the ſaints that ever were, are, or ſhall be, gathered together in one body, under one head, Chriſt Jeſus; part whereof is already in heaven *triumphant*, part as yet *militant* here upon earth. And becauſe this church conſiſteth of all thoſe, and thoſe alone, which are elected by God unto ſalvation, and regenerated by the power of his ſpirit, the number of whom is known only unto God himſelf, therefore it is called the *catholick* or univerſal, and the *inviſible* church.

69. But

69. But particular and viſible churches (conſiſting of thoſe who make profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, and live under the outward means of ſalvation) be many in number; wherein, the more or leſs ſincerely, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, the word of God is taught, the ſacraments are adminiſtered, and the authority of the keys uſed is, the more or leſs pure are ſuch churches to be accounted.

70. Although in the viſible church the evil be ever mingled with the good; and ſometimes the evil have chief authority in the miniſtration of the word and ſacraments, yet for as much as they do not the ſame in their own name, but in Chriſt's, and miniſter by his commiſſion and authority, we may uſe their miniſtry both in hearing the word, and in receiving the ſacraments. Neither is the effect of Chriſt's ordinance taken away by their wickedneſs, nor the grace of God's gifts diminiſhed from ſuch as by faith do rightly receive the ſacraments miniſtered unto them, which are effectual, becauſe of Chriſt's inſtitution and promiſe, although they be miniſtered by evil men. Nevertheleſs, it appertaineth to the diſcipline of the church, that inquiry be made of evil miniſters, and that they be accuſed by thoſe that have knowledge of their offences, and finally, being found guilty by juſt judgment, be depoſed.

71. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or miniſtring the ſacraments of the church, unleſs he be firſt lawfully called, and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judge lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given them in the church to call and ſend miniſters into the Lord's vineyard.

72. To have publick prayer in the church, or to adminiſter the ſacraments in a tongue not underſtood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the cuſtom of the primitive church.

73. That perſon which by publick denunciation of the church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and publican, until by repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the church, by the judgment of ſuch as have authority in that behalf.

74. God hath given power to his miniſters not ſimply to forgive ſins, (which prerogative he hath reſerved only to himſelf) but in his name to declare and pronounce unto ſuch as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy goſpel, the abſolution and forgiveneſs of ſins. Neither is it God's pleaſure, that his people ſhould be tied to make a particular confeſſion of all their known ſins unto any mortal man; howſoever, any perſon, grieved in his conſcience upon any ſpecial cauſe, may well reſort unto any godly and learned miniſter, to receive advice and comfort at his hands.

Of

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Biſhop of Rome.

75. IT is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word; neither may it ſo expound one place of ſcripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the church be a witneſs, and a keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſides the ſame ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed upon neceſſity of ſalvation.

76. General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes; and when they be gathered together (foraſmuch as they be an aſſembly of men not always governed with the ſpirit and word of God) they may err, and ſometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to the rule of piety; wherefore things ordained by them as neceſſary to ſalvation, have neither ſtrength nor authority, unleſs it may be ſhewed that they be taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

77. Every particular church hath authority to inſtitute, to change, and clean to put away ceremonies and other eccleſiaſtical rites, as they be ſuperfluous, or be abuſed, and to conſtitute other, making more to ſeemlineſs, to order, or edification.

78. As the churches of Jeruſalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, ſo alſo the church of Rome hath erred, not only in thoſe things which concern matters of practice and point of ceremonies, but alſo in matters of faith.

79. The power which the biſhop of Rome now challengeth, to be the ſupreme head of the univerſal church of Chriſt, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is an uſurped power, contrary to the ſcriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church, and therefore is for moſt juſt cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, within the king's majeſty's realms and dominions.

80. The biſhop of Rome is ſo far from being the ſupreme head of the univerſal church of Chriſt, that his works and doctrine do plainly diſcover him to be *that man of ſin* foretold in the holy ſcriptures, *whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the ſpirit of his mouth, and aboliſh with the brightneſs of his coming.*

Of the State of the Old and New Teſtament.

81. IN the Old Teſtament the commandments of the law were more largely, and the promiſes of Chriſt more ſparingly and darkly propounded; ſhadowed with a multitude of types and figures, and ſo much more generally and obſcurely delivered, as the manifeſting of them was farther off.

82. The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Teſtament everlaſting life is offered to mankind by Chriſt,

Chriſt, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man; wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for tranſitory promiſes, for they looked for all the benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as we now do; only they believed in Chriſt which ſhould come, we in Chriſt already come.

83. The New Teſtament is full of grace and truth, bringing joyful tidings unto mankind, that whatſoever formerly was promiſed of Chriſt is now accompliſhed; and ſo inſtead of the ancient types and ceremonies exhibiteth the things themſelves, with a large and clear declaration of all the benefits of the goſpel. Neither is the miniſtry thereof reſtrained any longer to one circumciſed nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all people, whether they be Jews or Gentiles; ſo that there is now no nation, which can truly complain that they be ſhut forth from the communion of ſaints, and the liberties of the people of God.

84. Although the law given from God by *Moſes*, as touching ceremonies and rites, be aboliſhed, and the civil precepts thereof be not of neceſſity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding, no chriſtian man whatſoever is freed from the obedience of the commandments, which are called moral.

Of the Sacraments of the New Teſtament.

85. THE ſacraments ordained by Chriſt are not only badges or tokens of chriſtian men's profeſſion, but rather certain ſure witneſſes, and effectual or powerful ſigns of grace and God's good-will towards us, by which he doth work inviſibly in us, and not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our faith in him.

86. There be two ſacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the goſpel, that is to ſay, *baptiſm* and the *Lord's ſupper*.

87. Thoſe five which by the church of Rome are called ſacraments, to wit, *confirmation*, *penance*, *orders*, *matrimony*, and *extreme unction*, are not to be accounted ſacraments of the goſpel, being ſuch as have partly grown from corrupt imitation of the apoſtles, partly are ſtates of life allowed in the ſcriptures, but yet have not like nature of ſacraments with *baptiſm* and the *Lord's ſupper*, for that they have not any viſible ſign or ceremony ordained of God, together with a promiſe of ſaving grace annexed thereunto.

88. The ſacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholſome effect and operation; but they that receive them unworthily thereby draw judgment upon themſelves.

Of

Of Baptiſm.

89. BAPTISM is not only an outward ſign of our profeſſion, and a note of difference, whereby chriſtians are diſcerned from ſuch as are no chriſtians; but much more a ſacrament of our admiſſion into the church, ſealing unto us our new birth (and conſequently our juſtification, adoption, and ſanctification) by the communion which we have with Jeſus Chriſt.

90. The baptiſm of infants is to be retained in the church as agreeable to the word of God.

91. In the adminiſtration of baptiſm, *exorcism*, *oil*, *salt*, *ſpittle*, and ſuperſtitious *hallowing of the water*, are for juſt cauſes aboliſhed; and without them the ſacrament is fully and perfectly adminiſtered to all intents and purpoſes, agreeable to the inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

Of the Lord's Supper.

92. THE Lord's ſupper is not only a ſign of the mutual love which chriſtians ought to bear one towards another, but much more a ſacrament of our preſervation in the church, ſealing unto us our ſpiritual nouriſhment, and continual growth in Chriſt.

93. The change of the ſubſtance of bread and wine into the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt, commonly called *tranſubſtantiation*, cannot be proved by holy writ, but is repugnant to plain teſtimonies of the ſcripture, overthroweth the nature of a ſacrament, and hath given occaſion to moſt groſs idolatry and manifold ſuperſtitions.

94. In the outward part of the holy communion, the body and blood of Chriſt is in a moſt lively manner *repreſented*, being no otherwiſe preſent with the viſible elements than things ſignified and ſealed are preſent with the ſigns and ſeals; that is to ſay, ſymbolically and relatively. But in the inward and ſpiritual part, the ſame body and blood is really and ſubſtantially *preſented* unto all thoſe who have grace to receive the Son of God, even to all thoſe that believe in his name. And unto ſuch as in this manner do worthily and with faith repair unto the Lord's table, the body and blood of Chriſt is not only ſignified and offered, but alſo truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The body of Chriſt is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's ſupper, only after an heavenly and ſpiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Chriſt is thus received and eaten, is *faith*.

96. The wicked, and ſuch as want a lively faith, although they do carnally and viſibly (as St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh) preſs with their teeth the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, yet in no wiſe are they made partakers of Chriſt, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the ſign or ſacrament of ſo great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lord's ſacrament, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the practice of the ancient church, ought to be miniſtered unto all God's people; and it is plain ſacrilege to rob them of the myſtical cup, for whom Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious blood.

98. The ſacrament of the *Lord's ſupper* was not by Chriſt's ordinance reſerved, carried about, lifted up, or worſhipped.

99. The ſacrifice of the maſs, wherein the prieſt is ſaid to offer up Chriſt for obtaining the remiſſion of pain or guilt for the quick and the dead, is neither agreeable to Chriſt's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apoſtolick: but contrariwiſe moſt ungodly, and moſt injurious to that all-ſufficient ſacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt, offered once for ever upon the croſs, which is the only propitiation and ſatisfaction for all our ſins.

100. Private maſs, that is, the receiving the *euchariſt* by the prieſt alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Reſurrection and the laſt Judgment.

101. AFTER this life is ended, the ſouls of God's children are preſently received into heaven, there to enjoy unſpeakable comforts; the ſouls of the wicked are caſt into hell, there to endure endleſs torments.

102. The doctrine of the church of Rome concerning *limbus patrum, limbus puerorum, purgatory, prayer for the dead, pardons, adoration of images and relicks*, and alſo *invocation of ſaints*, is vainly invented, without all warrant of holy ſcripture, yea, and is contrary to the ſame.

103. At the end of this world the Lord Jeſus ſhall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almighty power of God, the living ſhall be changed, and the dead ſhall be raiſed, and all ſhall appear both in body and ſoul before his judgment ſeat, *to receive according to that which they have done in their bodies, whether good or evil.*

104. When the laſt judgment is finiſhed, Chriſt ſhall deliver up the kingdom to his Father, and God ſhall be all in all.

The DECREE of the SYNOD.

IF any miniſter, of what degree or quality ſoever he be, ſhall publickly teach any doctrine contrary to theſe articles agreed upon; if after due admonition he do not conform himſelf, and ceaſe to diſturb the peace of the church, let him be ſilenced, and deprived of all ſpiritual promotions he doth enjoy.

ARTICLES

No. VII.

ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

Revised and altered by the *Assembly of Divines* at Westminster, in the year 1643, with Scripture references.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one[a] living and true God,[b] everlasting,[c] without body, parts,[d] or passions,[e] of infinite power,[f] wisdom,[g] and goodness;[h] the maker and preserver of all things both visible and invisible.[i] And in unity of this godhead, there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[k]

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father,[l] the very[m] and eternal God,[n] of one

[a] Isa. 46. 9. 1 Cor. 8. 4, 6. [b] Jer. 10. 10. 1 Thes. 1. 9. [c] Psal. 90. 2. Rom. 16. 26. [d] Deut. 4. 15, 16. John 4. 24, with Luke 24. 39. [e] Acts 14, 15. James 1. 17. [f] Jer. 32. 17, 27. Mark 10. 27. [g] Psal. 147. 5. Rom. 11. 33. [h] Psal. 119. 68, with Matt. 19. 17. [i] Neh. 9. 6. Col. 1. 16, 17. [k] Matt. 3. 16, 17. Matt. 28. 19. 1 John 4. 7. 2 Cor. 13. 14.
[l] Prov. 8. 22—31. John 1. 12, 14. [m] 1 John 5. 20. Rom. 9. 5. [n] John 17. 5. Heb. 1. 8, with Psal. 45. 6.

THE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker, and preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this godhead, there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one

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ſubſtance with the Father,[o] took man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin, of her ſubſtance;[p] ſo that two whole and perfect natures, that is to ſay, the godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very man,[q] who for our ſakes truly ſuffered moſt grievous torments in his ſoul from God,[r] was crucified, dead, and buried,[r] to reconcile his Father to us,[t] and to be a ſacrifice, not only for original guilt, but alſo for actual ſins of men.[u]

ARTICLE III.

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried, ſo it is to be believed that he continued in the ſtate of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death,[w] from the time of his death and burial until his reſurrection;[x] which hath been otherwiſe expreſſed thus: *he went down into hell.*

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.

Chriſt did truly riſe again from death,[y] and took again his body, with fleſh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature,[z] wherewith he aſcended into heaven, and there[a]

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ſubſtance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin, of her ſubſtance; ſo that two whole and perfect natures, that is to ſay, the godhead and manhood, were joined together in one perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very man, who truly ſuffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a ſacrifice not only for original guilt, but alſo for all actual ſins of men.

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried: ſo alſo is it to be believed that he went down into Hell.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt.

Chriſt did truly riſe again from death, and took again his body, with fleſh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he aſcended into heaven, and there

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[o] John 10. 30. Heb. 1. 3. [p] John 1. 14. Iſa. 7. 14. Luke 1. 35. Gal. 4. 4. [q] Iſa. 7. 14, with Matt. 1. 23. Rom. 1. 3, 4. Heb. 13. 8. [r] Iſa. 53. 10, 11. Mark 14. 33, 34. [s] 1 Pet. 2. 24. Phil. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. [t] Ezek. 16. 63. Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 12. [u] Iſa. 53. 10. Eph. 5. 2. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 26.

[w] Pſal. 16. 10, with Acts 2. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31. [x] Rom. 6. 9. Matt. 12. 40.

[y] 1 Cor. 15. 4. Rom. 8. 34. Pſal. 16. 10, with Acts 2. 31. Luke 24. 34. [z] Luke 24. 39, with John 20. 25, 27. [a] Pſal. 68. 18, with Eph. 4. 8. Pſal. 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mark 19. 10. Rom. 8. 34.

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fitteth, until he return to judge[b] all men [c] at the general resurrection of the body at the last day.[d]

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one substance,[e] majesty,[f] and glory, with the Father and the Son,[g] proceeding from the Father and the Son.[h]

ARTICLE VI.

Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture[i] containeth all things necessary to salvation,[k] so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation.[l]

By the name of holy scripture we understand all the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, which follow:

Of the Old Testament.
Genesis, Exodus, *&c.*

Of the New Testament.
The Gospel of St. Matthew, *&c.*

All which books, as they are commonly received, we do re-

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fitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy scripture, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis,	Leviticus,
Exodus,	Numbers, *&c.*

And the other books, (as *Hierome* saith) the church doth read

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[b] Acts 3. 21. Psal. 110. 1, with 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. [c] 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31. [d] Exod 3. 6, with Luke 20. 37, 38. Acts 24. 14, 15. 1 Cor. 15. 12, to the end: John 5. 28, 29.

[e] 2 Sam. 23. 2, with verse 3. Isa. 6. 5, 8, with Acts 28. 25. Acts 5. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 3. 16, and 6. 19. [f] Job 26. 13. 33. 4. 1 Cor. 12th chap. Matt. 28. 19. 2 Cor. 13, 14. [g] 1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17, and 1 Cor. 2. 8, with 1 Pet. 4. 14. [h] John 15. 26, and Matt. 10. 20, and 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12, with Gal. 4. 6, and Rom. 8. 9, and Phil. 1. 9. John 16. 14. Isa. 11. 2. Isa. 61. 1. Gen. 1. 2. 2 Chron. 15. 1.

[i] Rom. 1. 2. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 2 Pet. 1. 20, 21. [k] Psal. 19. 7. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. James 1. 21, 25. Acts 20. 32.

[l] Prov. 30. 5, 6. Isa. 8. 20. Acts 26. 22, with ver. 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. John 5. 39.

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ceive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of most certain credit, and highest authority.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the doctrine contained in them;[m] for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ,[n] who is the only mediator between God and man,[o] being both God and man.[p] Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the old fathers did look only for temporary promises.[q]

Although the law given from God by *Moses*, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind christians;[r] nor the civil precepts given by *Moses*, such as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of the Jews, are of necessity to be received in any commonwealth;[s] yet notwithstanding, no christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the com-

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for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such are these following,

Third of Esdras, *Book of* Tobias,
Fourth of Esdras, Judith, *&c.*

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which fain that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from GOD by *Moses*, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

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[m] Acts 26. 21, 23. 2 Pet. 3. 2. Luke 24. 44. Rom. 3. 31. Gal. 3. 21, 23, 24. [n] Gen. 3. 15. Gen. 22. 18, with Gal. 3. 8, 14. 1 Cor. 10. 2, 3, 4. Luke 1. 69, 70. Acts 3. 24. Isa. 53. chap. [o] Dan. 9. 17. Rom. 8. 34. 1 John 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. 1 Tim. 2. 5. John 14. 6. [p] Gal. 4. 4, 5. Acts 20. 28. Phil. 2. 7, 8. [q] Acts 26. 6, 7. Rom. 4. 11. Gal. 3. 9. Heb. 11. 10, 16, 35. [r] Gal. 4. 9, 10. Col. 2. 14, 16, 17. Heb. 9. 9, 10. [s] Acts 25. 9, 10, 25, with Deut. 17. 8—13. Rom. 13. 1, 5. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

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mandments which are called moral.[t] By the moral law, we understand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent.

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ARTICLE VIII.

Of the Three Creeds.

The three creeds, *Nice* creed, *Athanasius* creed, and that which is commonly called the apostle's creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy writ.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin[u] standeth not in the following of *Adam*, as the *pelagians* do vainly talk:[w] but together with his first sin imputed, it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is propagated from *Adam*; whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteousness,[y] and is of his own nature inclined only to evil.[z] So that the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρονημα σαρκὸς, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God,[a] and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.[b] And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth of Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *pelagians* do vainly talk) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of *Adam*, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in *greek* φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law

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[t] Matt. 5. 17, to the end. Rom. 13. 8, 9, 10. Eph. 6. 1, 2, 3. James 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Rom. 7. 25. Rom. 3. 31. Matt. 7. 12.

[u] Psal. 51. 5. John 3. 5, 6. [w] Job 14. 4. Job 15. 14. Rom. 6. 6. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 7. [x] Rom. 5. 12—19. Gen. 2. 17, with 1 Cor. 15. 22. [y] Col. 2. 13. Rom. 7. 18. Eccl. 7. 29. [z] Gen. 6. 5. Gen. 8. 21. Jer. 17. 9. Rom. 7, 8. James 1. 14. [a] Rom. 8. 7. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Col. 1. 21. [b] Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 8. 6, 7.

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them that are regenerate,[c] whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit.[d] And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe,[e] yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust is truly and properly sin.[f]

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turn or prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God;[g] wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasing and acceptable to God,[h] without the grace of God by Christ, both preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good,[i] and also working with us when we have that will unto good.[k]

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man before God.

We are justified, that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins,[l] not for, nor by our own works or deservings,[m] but freely by his

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of GOD. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good-will, and working with us, when we have that good-will.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before GOD, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Where-

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[c] Prov. 20. 9. Rom. 7. 17, 20, 23, 25. [d] Gal. 5. 17. [e] Rom. 8. 1, 13. John 3. 13. [f] Rom. 8. 17, 20.

[g] Eph. 2. 1, 5. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10. John 6. 44, 65. [h] Rom. 8. 8. Heb. 11. 6. [i] Ezek. 11. 19, 20. Ezek. 36. 26, 27. Jer. 31. 32, 33, with Heb. 10. 11. Phil. 2. 12, 13. John 6. 45. Eph. 1. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4, 7. [k] Heb. 13. 21. Phil. 8. 1, 6. Heb. 12. 22. 1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Thess. 5. 23, 24. 1 Kings 8. 57, 58.

[l] Rom. 4, 5, 6, 7. Psal. 32. 1, 2. [m] Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 2. 16. Gal. 3. 10, 11. Phil. 3. 9.

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grace,[n] only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake,[o] his whole obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed unto us,[p] and Christ with his righteousness, being apprehended and rested on by faith only.[q] The doctrine of justification by faith only, is a wholsome doctrine, and very full of comfort,[r] notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trespasses.[s]

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith,[t] and follow after justification,[u] cannot put away our sins,[w] and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they, notwithstanding their imperfections, in the sight of God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ,[y] and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith,[z] insomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruits.[a]

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by his spirit, are not pleasing unto

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fore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholsome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely expressed in the homily of justification.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasant to GOD,

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[n] Rom. 3. 24. Tit. 3. 7. [o] Rom. 3. 24, 25. Rom. 5. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. [p] Rom. 5. 9, 17, 18, 19. Rom. 3. 25, 26. Rom. 4. 6, 24. 2 Cor. 5. 21. [q] Rom. 3. 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Isa. 28. 16, with Rom. 9. 33, and 1 Pet. 2. 6. Phil. 3. 9. [r] 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 8, 11. Rom. 15. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. [s] Psal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3, 5.

[t] Gal. 5. 6. James 2. 17, 18, 22. [u] Tit. 2. 14. Tit. 3. 7, 8. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 18. [w] Rom. 3. 20, 21. Rom. 4. 4—9. Dan. 9. 18, 19. [x] Neh. 13. 22. Psal. 143. 2. Job 9. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38. Rev. 8. 3, 4.

[y] 1 Pet. 2. 5. Heb. 13. 16, 20, 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18. [z] James 2. 16. 1 John 1. 4. [a] James 2. 18, 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2. 3, 5. Matt. 12. 33.

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God,[b] for as much as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ:[c] neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are sinful.[d]

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call *works of supererogation*, cannot be taught[f] without arrogancy and impiety;[g] for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, *When ye have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do.*[h]

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted,[i] from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his spirit:[k] he came to be the lamb without spot,[l] who by sacrifice of himself[m] once

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for as much as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as GOD hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call *works of supererogation*, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God, as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, *When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.*

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (sin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should

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[b] Tit. 1. 15, 16. Matt. 7. 18. Rom. 8. 8. Prov. 15. 8, 26. Prov. 21. 27. Rom. 3. 12. [c] Heb. 11. 5, 6. Gal. 5. 6. [d] 2 Tim. 1. 9. John 1. 13. Rom. 8. 7, 8. Hag. 2. 14. Isa. 58. 1—5. Isa. 66. 2, 3.

[f] Matt. 5. 48. Mark 12. 30, 31. Phil. 4. 8, 9. [g] Job 9. 2, 3, 20, 21. Psal. 143. 2. Prov. 20. 9. Phil. 3. 8—15. [h] Luke 17. 10, with ver. 7, 8, 9.

[i] Isa. 53. 3, 4, 5. Heb. 2. 17, with Heb. 5. 15. [k] Luke 1. 35, with Acts 3. 14. John 14. 30. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 7. 26. [l] 1 Pet. 1. 19. [m] Eph. 5. 2.

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made,[n] ſhould take away the ſins of the world;[o] and ſin (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him.[p] But all we the reſt, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and *if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us.*[q]	take away the ſins of the world; and ſin, (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him. But all the reſt, (although baptized, and born again in Chriſt) yet offend in many things; and *if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us.*

CHARLES HERLE, *prolocutor.*
HENRY ROBOROUGH, *ſcriba.*
ADONIRAM BYFIELD, *ſcriba.*

N. B. *The Aſſembly proceeded no farther in the reviſal.*

No. VII.

The DIRECTORY *for the* PUBLICK WORSHIP *of* GOD,

Agreed upon by the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter; examined and approved, *Anno* 1645, by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of *SCOTLAND*; and ratified by Act of Parliament the ſame year.

THE PREFACE.

IN the beginning of the bleſſed reformation, our wiſe and pious anceſtors took care to ſet forth an order for redreſs of many things, which they then, by the word, diſcovered to be vain, erroneous, ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous, in the publick worſhip of God. This occaſioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the book of *Common-Prayer*, at that time ſet forth; becauſe the maſs, and the reſt of the *Latin* ſervice, being removed, the publick worſhip was celebrated in our own tongue; many of the common people alſo received benefit by hearing the ſcriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is ſealed.

Howbeit, long and ſad experience hath made it manifeſt, that the liturgy uſed in the church of England, (notwithſtanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but alſo to the reformed churches abroad. For not to ſpeak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increaſed the burden of it; the many unprofitable and burdenſome ceremonies contained in it, have occa-

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[n] Heb. 9. 26, 28. Heb. 10. 10, 12. [o] John 1. 29. [p] 1 John 3. 5. [q] James 3. 2. 1 John 1. 8, 10.

ſioned

ſioned much miſchief, as well by diſquieting the conſciences of many godly miniſters and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or ſubſcribing to thoſe ceremonies. Sundry good chriſtians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table, and divers able and faithful miniſters debarred from the exerciſe of their miniſtry, (to the endangering of many thouſand ſouls, in a time of ſuch ſcarcity of faithful paſtors) and ſpoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates and their faction have laboured to raiſe the eſtimation of it to ſuch an height, as if there were no other worſhip, or way of worſhip of God amongſt us, but only the ſervice-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and, (in ſome places, eſpecially of late) to the juſtling of it out, as unneceſſary; or (at beſt) as far inferior to the reading of *common-prayer*, which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, who, pleaſing themſelves in their preſence at that ſervice, and their lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby hardened themſelves in their ignorance and careleſſneſs of ſaving knowledge and true piety.

In the mean time, papiſts boaſted, that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their ſervice; and ſo were not a little confirmed in their ſuperſtition and idolatry, expecting rather our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themſelves: in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableneſs of impoſing the former ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the church.

Add hereunto, (which was not foreſeen, but ſince hath come to paſs) that the liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increaſe an idle and unedifying miniſtry, which contented itſelf with ſet forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themſelves to exerciſe the gift of prayer, with which our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* pleaſeth to furniſh all his ſervants, whom he calls to that office: So on the other ſide it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endleſs ſtrife and contention in the church, and a ſnare both to many godly and faithful miniſters, who have been perſecuted and ſilenced upon that occaſion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more ſtill would be diverted from all thoughts of the miniſtry to other ſtudies; eſpecially in theſe later times, wherein God vouchſafeth to his people more and better means for the diſcovery of error and ſuperſtition, and for attaining of knowledge in the myſteries of godlineſs, and gifts in preaching and prayer.

Upon theſe, and many the like weighty conſiderations, in reference to the whole book in general, and becauſe of divers particulars contained in it; not from any love to novelty, or intention to diſparage our firſt reformers, (of whom we are perſuaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknow-

ledge as excellent inſtruments, raiſed by God, to begin the purging and building of his houſe, and deſire they may be had of us and poſterity in everlaſting remembrance, with thankfulneſs and honour) but that we may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may ſatisfy our own conſciences, and anſwer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the deſires of many of the godly among ourſelves, and withal give ſome publick teſtimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worſhip, which we have promiſed in our ſolemn league and covenant: we have, after earneſt and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much conſultation, not with fleſh and blood, but with his holy word, reſolved to lay aſide the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly uſed in the worſhip of God; and have agreed upon this following directory for all the parts of publick worſhip, at ordinary and extraordinary times.

Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth ſuch things as are of divine inſtitution in every ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to ſet forth according to the rules of chriſtian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the word of God: our meaning therein being only, that the general heads, the ſenſe and ſcope of the prayers, and other parts of publick worſhip, being known to all, there may be a conſent of all the churches, in thoſe things that contain the ſubſtance of the ſervice and worſhip of God; and the miniſters may be hereby directed in their adminiſtrations, to keep like ſoundneſs in doctrine and prayer; and may, if need be, have ſome help and furniture; and yet ſo, as they become not hereby ſlothful and negligent, in ſtirring up the gifts of Chriſt in them; but, that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himſelf and the flock of God committed to him, and by wiſe obſerving the ways of divine providence, may be careful to furniſh his heart and tongue with further, or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as ſhall be needful upon all occaſions.

Of the aſſembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the publick Worſhip of God.

WHEN the congregation is to meet for publick worſhip, the people, (having before prepared their hearts thereunto) ought all to come, and join therein; not abſenting themſelves from the publick ordinances through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the aſſembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and ſeemly manner, taking their ſeats or places without adoration, or bowing themſelves towards one place or other.

The congregation being aſſembled, the miniſter, after ſolemn calling on them to the worſhipping of the great name of God, is to begin with prayer.

" In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehenſible
" greatneſs and majeſty of the Lord, (in whoſe preſence they do then
" in a ſpecial manner appear) and their own vileneſs and unworthi-
" neſs

" neſs to approach ſo near him, with their utter inability of themſelves
" to ſo great a work; and humbly beſeeching him for pardon, aſſiſt-
" ance, and acceptance, in the whole ſervice then to be performed;
" and for a bleſſing on that particular portion of his word then to be
" read: and all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

The publick worſhip being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except what the miniſter is then reading or citing; and abſtaining much more from all private whiſperings, conferences, ſalutations, or doing reverence to any perſons preſent, or coming in; as alſo from all gazing, ſleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may diſturb the miniſter or people, or hinder themſelves and others in the ſervice of God.

If any, through neceſſity, be hindered from being preſent at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themſelves to their private devotions, but reverently to compoſe themſelves to join with the aſſembly, in that ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Of publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

READING of the word in the congregation, being part of the publick worſhip of God, (wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and ſubjection to him) and one means ſanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the paſtors and teachers.

Howbeit, ſuch as intend the miniſtry, may occaſionally both read the word, and exerciſe their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the preſbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the Old and New Teſtament, (but none of thoſe which are commonly called *apocrypha*) ſhall be publickly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the beſt allowed tranſlation, diſtinctly, that all may hear and underſtand.

How large a portion ſhall be read at once, is left to the wiſdom of the miniſter; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each teſtament be read at every meeting; and ſometimes more, where the chapters be ſhort, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requiſite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the ſcriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either teſtament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next.

We commend alſo the more frequent reading of ſuch ſcriptures, as he that readeth ſhall think beſt for edification of his hearers, as the book of *Pſalms*, and ſuch like.

When the miniſter, who readeth, ſhall judge it neceſſary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or pſalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time that neither preaching, nor other ordinance, be ſtraitned, or rendered

rendered tedious. Which rule is to be obſerved in all other publick performances.

Beſide publick reading of the holy ſcriptures, every perſon that can read is to be exhorted to read the ſcriptures privately, (and all others that cannot read, if not diſabled by age, or otherwiſe, are likewiſe to be exhorted to learn to read) and to have a bible.

Of publick Prayer before the Sermon.

AFTER reading of the word, (and ſinging of the pſalm) the miniſter who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own, and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their ſins, that they may all mourn in ſenſe thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirſt after the grace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, by proceeding to a more full confeſſion of ſin, with ſhame and holy confuſion of face, and to call upon the Lord to this effect:

" To acknowledge our great ſinfulneſs, *firſt*, by reaſon of original ſin, " which (beſide the guilt that makes us liable to everlaſting damna- " tion) is the ſeed of all other ſins, hath depraved and poiſoned all the " faculties and powers of ſoul and body, doth defile our beſt actions, " and (were it not reſtrained, or our hearts renewed by grace) would " break forth into innumerable tranſgreſſions, and greateſt rebellions " againſt the Lord, that ever were committed by the vileſt of the ſons " of men. And, *next*, by reaſon of actual ſins, our own ſins, the ſins " of magiſtrates, of miniſters, and of the whole nation, unto which " we are many ways acceſſary: which ſins of ours receive many " fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of " the holy, juſt, and good law of God, doing that which is forbid- " den, and leaving undone what is enjoined; and that not only out " of ignorance and infirmity, but alſo more preſumptuouſly, againſt " the light of our minds, checks of our conſciences, and motions of " his own holy ſpirit to the contrary, ſo that we have no cloak for " our ſins; yea, not only deſpiſing the riches of God's goodneſs, for- " bearance and long ſuffering, but ſtanding out againſt many invi- " tations and offers of grace in the goſpel; not endeavouring, as we " ought, to receive Chriſt into our hearts by faith, or to walk " worthy of him in our lives.

" To bewail our blindneſs of mind, hardneſs of heart, unbelief, " impenitency, ſecurity, lukewarmneſs, barrenneſs; our not endea- " vouring after mortification and newneſs of life, nor after the " exerciſe of godlineſs in the power thereof: and that the beſt of us " have not ſo ſtedfaſtly walked with God, kept our garments ſo " unſpotted, nor been ſo zealous of his glory, and the good of others, " as we ought: and to mourn over ſuch other ſins, as the congre- " gation is particularly guilty of, notwithſtanding the manifold and " great mercies of our God, the love of Chriſt, the light of the goſpel, " and reformation of religion, our own purpoſes, promiſes, vows, " ſolemn covenant, and other ſpecial obligations to the contrary.

" To

" To acknowledge and confeſs, that, as we are convinced of ou
" guilt, ſo, out of a deep ſenſe thereof, we judge ourſelves unworthy
" of the ſmalleſt benefits, moſt worthy of God's fierceſt wrath, and
" of all the curſes of the law, and heavieſt judgments inflicted upon
" the moſt rebellious ſinners; and that he might moſt juſtly take his
" kingdom and goſpel from us, plague us with all ſorts of ſpiritual
" and temporal judgments in this life, and after caſt us into utter
" darkneſs, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, where
" is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth for evermore.

" Notwithſtanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace,
" encouraging ourſelves with hope of a gracious anſwer of our prayers,
" in the riches and all-ſufficiency of that one only oblation, the ſatis-
" faction and interceſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at the right hand
" of his Father, and our Father; and in confidence of the exceed-
" ing great and precious promiſes of mercy and grace in the new
" covenant, through the ſame mediator thereof, to deprecate the
" heavy wrath and curſe of GOD, which we are not able to avoid,
" or bear; and humbly and earneſtly to ſupplicate for mercy, in the
" free and full remiſſion of all our ſins, and that only for the bitter
" ſufferings and precious merits of our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

" That the Lord would vouchſafe to ſhed abroad his love in our
" hearts by the Holy Ghoſt; ſeal unto us, by the ſame ſpirit of adop-
" tion, the full aſſurance of our pardon and reconciliation; comfort
" all that mourn in Zion, ſpeak peace to the wounded and troubled
" ſpirit, and bind up the broken-hearted: and as for ſecure and pre-
" ſumptuous ſinners, that he would open their eyes, convince their
" conſciences, and turn them from darkneſs unto light, and from the
" power of ſatan unto God, that they alſo may receive forgiveneſs of
" ſin, and an inheritance among them that are ſanctified by faith
" in Chriſt Jeſus.

" With remiſſion of ſins through the blood of Chriſt, to pray for
" ſanctification by his ſpirit; the mortification of ſin dwelling in, and
" many times tyrannizing over us; the quickening of our dead ſpirits,
" with the life of God in Chriſt; grace to fit and enable us for all
" duties of converſation and callings towards God and men; ſtrength
" againſt temptations, the ſanctified uſe of bleſſings and croſſes, and
" perſeverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

" To pray for the propagation of the goſpel and kingdom of Chriſt
" to all nations, for the converſion of the Jews, the fulneſs of the
" *gentiles*, the fall of *antichriſt*, and the haſtening of the ſecond
" coming of our Lord: for the deliverance of the diſtreſſed churches
" abroad from the tyranny of the *antichriſtian faction*, and from the
" cruel oppreſſions and blaſphemies of the *Turk*; for the bleſſing of
" God upon all the reformed churches, eſpecially upon the churches
" and kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more ſtrictly
" and religiouſly united in the *ſolemn national league* and *covenant*;
" and for our plantations in the moſt remote parts of the world;

" more

" more particularly for that church and kingdom whereof we are " members, that therein God would eſtabliſh peace and truth, the " purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godlineſs; prevent " and remove hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, ſuperſtition, ſecurity, and " unfruitfulneſs under the means of grace; heal all our rents and " diviſions, and preſerve us from breach of our *ſolemn covenant.*

" To pray for all in authority, eſpecially for the King's Majeſty, " that God would make him rich in bleſſings, both in his perſon " and government; eſtabliſh his throne in religion and righteouſneſs, " ſave him from evil counſel, and make him a bleſſed and glorious " inſtrument, for the conſervation and propagation of the goſpel, " for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the " terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole " church, and of all his kingdoms; for the converſion of the queen, " the religious education of the prince, and the reſt of the royal ſeed; " for the comforting the afflicted queen of Bohemia, ſiſter to our " ſovereign: and for the reſtitution and eſtabliſhment of the illuſtrious " prince *Charles*, elector *palatine* of the Rhine, to all his dominions " and dignities; for a bleſſing upon the high court of parliament, " (when ſitting in any of theſe kingdoms reſpectively) the nobility, " the ſubordinate judges and magiſtrates, the gentry, and all the " commonalty; for all paſtors and teachers, that God would fill " them with his ſpirit, make them exemplarily holy, ſober, juſt, " peaceable, and gracious in their lives; ſound, faithful, and powerful " in their miniſtry; and follow all their labours with abundance of " ſucceſs and bleſſing; and give unto all his people paſtors according " to his own heart; for the univerſities, and all ſchools and religious " ſeminaries of church and commonwealth, that they may flouriſh " more and more in learning and piety; for the particular city or " congregation, that God would pour out a bleſſing upon the miniſtry " of the word, ſacraments and diſcipline, upon the civil government, " and all the ſeveral families and perſons therein; for mercy to the " afflicted under any inward or outward diſtreſs. For ſeaſonable " weather, and fruitful ſeaſons, as the time may require; for averting " the judgments that we either feel or fear, or are liable unto, as " famine, peſtilence, the ſword, and ſuch like.

" And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church, and the " acceptance of our perſons, through the merits and mediation of " our high prieſt the Lord Jeſus, to profeſs that it is the deſire of our " ſouls to have fellowſhip with God, in the reverend and conſcionable " uſe of his holy ordinances; and to that purpoſe, to pray earneſtly " for his grace and effectual aſſiſtance to the ſanctification of his " holy ſabbath, the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, publick " and private, both to ourſelves, and to all other congregations of " his people, according to the riches and excellency of the goſpel, " this day celebrated and enjoyed.

" And

" And becauſe we have been unprofitable hearers in times paſt, " and now cannot of ourſelves receive, as we ſhould, the deep things " of God, the myſteries of Jeſus Chriſt, which require a ſpiritual " diſcerning; to pray that the Lord, who teacheth to profit, would " graciouſly pleaſe to pour out the ſpirit of grace, together with " the outward means thereof, cauſing us to attain ſuch a meaſure " of the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, " and in him, of the things which belong to our peace, that we may " account all things but as droſs in compariſon of him: and that we, " taſting the firſt fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long " for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he " is, we may be alſo, and enjoy the fullneſs of thoſe joys and pleaſures " which are at his right hand for evermore.

" More particularly, that God would in ſpecial manner furniſh his " ſervant, (now called to diſpenſe the bread of life unto his houſhold) " with wiſdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the " word of God aright, to every one his portion, in evidence and " demonſtration of the ſpirit and power: and that the Lord would " circumciſe the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and " receive with meekneſs, the ingrafted word, which is able to ſave " their ſouls; make them as good ground to receive in the good ſeed " of the word, and ſtrengthen them againſt the temptations of ſatan, " the cares of the world, the hardneſs of their own hearts, and what- " ſoever elſe may hinder their profitable and ſaving hearing; that ſo " Chriſt may be ſo formed in them, and live in them, that all their " thoughts may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Chriſt, " and their hearts eſtabliſhed in every good word and work for ever."

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary publick prayers; yet ſo, as the miniſter may defer (as in prudence he ſhall think meet) ſome part of theſe petitions, till after his ſermon, or offer up to God ſome of the thankſgivings hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his ſermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

PREACHING of the word being the power of God unto ſalvation, and one of the greateſt and moſt excellent works belonging to the miniſtry of the goſpel, ſhould be ſo performed, that the workman need not be aſhamed, but may ſave himſelf, and thoſe that hear him.

It is preſuppoſed, (according to the rules for ordination) that the miniſter of Chriſt is in ſome good meaſure gifted for ſo weighty a ſervice, by his ſkill in the original languages, and in ſuch arts and ſciences as are handmaids unto divinity; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but moſt of all in the holy ſcriptures, having his ſenſes and heart exerciſed in them above the common ſort of believers; and by the illumination of God's ſpirit, and other gifts of edification, which (together with reading and ſtudying of the word) he

he ought ſtill to ſeek by prayer, and an humble heart, reſolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God ſhall make it known unto him. All which he is to make uſe of, and improve in his private preparations, before he deliver in publick what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the ſubject of his ſermon is to be ſome text of ſcripture, holding forth ſome principle or head of religion, or ſuitable to ſome ſpecial occaſion emergent; or he may go on in ſome chapter, pſalm, or book of the holy ſcripture, as he ſhall ſee fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perſpicuous, drawn from the text itſelf, or context, or ſome parallel place, or general ſentence of ſcripture.

If the text be long, (as in hiſtories and parables it ſometimes muſt be) let him give a brief ſum of it; if ſhort, a paraphraſe thereof, if need be: in both, looking diligently to the ſcope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine, which he is to raiſe from it.

In analyſing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter, than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning with too many members of diviſion, nor to trouble their minds with obſcure terms of art.

In raiſing doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, *firſt*, that the matter be the truth of God. *Secondly*, that it be a truth contained in, or grounded on that text, that the hearers may diſcern how God teacheth it from thence. *Thirdly*, that he chiefly inſiſt upon thoſe doctrines which are principally intended, and make moſt for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expreſſed in plain terms; or, if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the conſequence alſo from the text cleared. The parallel places of ſcripture, confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be) ſomewhat inſiſted upon, and applied to the purpoſe in hand.

The arguments and reaſons are to be ſolid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The illuſtrations, of what kind ſoever, ought to be full of light, and ſuch as may convey the truth into the hearer's heart with ſpiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from ſcripture, reaſon, or prejudice of the hearers, ſeem to ariſe, it is very requiſite to remove it, by reconciling the ſeeming differences, anſwering the reaſons, and diſcovering and taking away the cauſes of prejudice and miſtake. Otherwiſe it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or anſwering vain or wicked cavils, which as they are endleſs, ſo the propounding and anſwering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to reſt in general doctrine, although never ſo much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to ſpecial uſe, by application to his hearers; which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to

to himſelf, requiring much prudence, zeal, and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man will be very unpleaſant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in ſuch a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a diſcerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and that, if any unbeliever or ignorant perſon be preſent, he may have the ſecrets of his heart made manifeſt, and give glory to God.

In the uſe of inſtruction or information in the knowledge of ſome truth, which is a conſequence from his doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of ſcripture, or from the nature of that common-place in divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of falſe doctrines, he is neither to raiſe an old hereſy from the grave, nor to mention a blaſphemous opinion unneceſſarily: but if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it ſoundly, and endeavour to ſatisfy their judgments and conſciences againſt all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he ſeeth cauſe, to teach alſo the means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehenſion, and publick admonition, (which require ſpecial wiſdom) let him, as there ſhall be cauſe, not only diſcover the nature and greatneſs of the ſin, with the miſery attending it, but alſo ſhew the danger his hearers are in to be overtaken and ſurprized by it, together with the remedies and beſt way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general againſt all temptations, or particular againſt ſome ſpecial troubles or terrors, he is carefully to anſwer ſuch objections, as a troubled heart and afflicted ſpirit may ſuggeſt to the contrary.

It is alſo ſometimes requiſite to give ſome notes of trial, (which is very profitable, eſpecially when performed by able and experienced miniſters, with circumſpection and prudence, and the ſigns clearly grounded on the holy ſcripture) whereby the hearers may be able to examine themſelves, whether they have attained thoſe graces, and performed thoſe duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the ſin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are ſuch to whom the conſolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and ſins, affected with their danger, and ſtrengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination ſhall require.

And, as he needeth not always to proſecute every doctrine which lies in his text, ſo is he wiſely to make choice of ſuch uſes, as by his reſidence and converſing with his flock, he findeth moſt needful and ſeaſonable; and, amongſt theſe, ſuch as may moſt draw their ſouls to Chriſt, the fountain of light, holineſs, and comfort.

This method is not preſcribed as neceſſary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended, as being found by experience to

be

be very much bleſſed of God, and very helpful for the people's underſtandings and memories.

But the ſervant of Chriſt, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole miniſtry.

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meaneſt may underſtand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power, leſt the croſs of Chriſt ſhould be made of none effect; abſtaining alſo from an unprofitable uſe of unknown tongues, ſtrange phraſes, and cadences of ſounds and words, ſparingly citing ſentences of eccleſiaſtical, or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never ſo elegant.

3. Faithfully looking at the honour of Chriſt, the converſion, edification and ſalvation of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote thoſe holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent reſpect unto all, without neglecting the meaneſt, or ſparing the greateſt in their ſins.

4. Wiſely, framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and eſpecially his reproofs, in ſuch a manner as may be moſt likely to prevail, ſhewing all due reſpect to each man's perſon and place, and not mixing his own paſſion or bitterneſs.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, ſhunning all ſuch geſture, voice, and expreſſions, as may occaſion the corruptions of men to deſpiſe him and his miniſtry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may ſee all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty deſire to do them good.

7. As taught of God, and perſuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the truth of Chriſt; and walking before his flock, as an example to them in it: earneſtly, both in private and publick, recommending his labours to the bleſſing of God, and watchfully looking to himſelf and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overſeer: ſo ſhall the doctrine of truth be preſerved uncorrupt, many ſouls converted and built up, and himſelf receive manyfold comforts of his labours, even in this life, and afterwards the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more miniſters in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more eſpecially apply himſelf to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he moſt excelleth, and as they ſhall agree between themſelves.

Of Prayer after Sermon.

THE ſermon being ended, the miniſter is "to give thanks for "the great love of God, in ſending his Son Jeſus Chriſt unto us; "for the communication of his holy ſpirit; for the light and liberty "of the glorious goſpel, and the rich and heavenly bleſſings revealed "therein;

" therein; as namely, election, vocation, adoption, juſtification, ſanc-
" tification, and hope of glory: for the admirable goodneſs of God,
" in freeing the land from antichriſtian darkneſs and tyranny, and
" for all other national deliverances: for the reformation of religion;
" for the covenant; and for many temporal bleſſings.

" To pray for the continuance of the goſpel, and all ordinances
" thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty: to turn the chief and
" moſt uſeful heads of the ſermon into ſome few petitions; and to
" pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

" To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching
" for the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: to intreat of God the
" forgiveneſs of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation
" of our ſpiritual ſacrifice, through the merit and mediation of our
" great high prieſt and Saviour the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

And becauſe the prayer which Chriſt taught his diſciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itſelf a moſt comprehenſive prayer, we recommend it alſo to be uſed in the prayers of the church.

And whereas, at the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, the holding publick faſts, and days of thankſgiving, and other ſpecial occaſions, which may afford matter of ſpecial petitions and thankſgivings, it is requiſite to expreſs ſomewhat in our publick prayers, (as at this time, it is our duty to pray for a bleſſing upon the aſſembly of divines, the armies by ſea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdom) every miniſter is herein to apply himſelf in his prayer, before or after ſermon, to thoſe occaſions: but for the manner he is left to his liberty, as God ſhall direct and enable him, in piety and wiſdom to diſcharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a pſalm be ſung, if with conveniency it may be done. After which, (unleſs ſome other ordinance of Chriſt, that concerneth the congregation at that time, be to follow) let the miniſter diſmiſs the congregation with a ſolemn bleſſing.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

AND FIRST, OF BAPTISM.

BAPTISM, as it is not unneceſſarily to be delayed, ſo it is not to be adminiſtered in any caſe by any private perſon, but by a miniſter of Chriſt, called to be the ſteward of the myſteries of God.

Nor is it to be adminiſtered in private places, or privately, but in the place of publick worſhip, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may moſt conveniently ſee and hear, and not in the places where fonts, in the time of popery, were unfitly and ſuperſtitiouſly placed.

The

The child to be baptized, after notice given to the miniſter the day before, is to be preſented by the father, or (in caſe of his neceſſary abſence) by ſome chriſtian friend in his place, profeſſing his earneſt deſire that the child may be baptized.

Before baptiſm, the miniſter is to uſe ſome words of inſtruction, touching the inſtitution, nature, uſe, and ends of this ſacrament: ſhewing,

" That it is inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that it is a ſeal " of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Chriſt, and of our " union with him, of remiſſion of ſins, regeneration, adoption, and " life eternal. That the water in baptiſm repreſenteth and ſignifieth, " both the blood of Chriſt, which taketh away all guilt of ſin, original " and actual; and the ſanctifying virtue of the ſpirit of Chriſt againſt " the dominion of ſin, and the corruption of our ſinful nature: that " baptizing, or ſprinkling and waſhing with water, ſignifieth the " cleanſing from ſin by the blood, and for the merit of Chriſt, toge- " ther with the mortification of ſin, and riſing from ſin to newneſs " of life, by virtue of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt: that the " promiſe is made to believers and their ſeed; and that the ſeed and " poſterity of the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, " intereſt in the covenant, and right to the ſeal of it, and to the out- " ward privileges of the church under the goſpel, no leſs than the " children of *Abraham* in the time of the Old Teſtament; the cove- " nant of grace, for ſubſtance, being the ſame; and the grace of " God, and the conſolation of believers, more plentiful than before: " that the Son of God admitted little children into his preſence, " embracing and bleſſing them, ſaying, *for of ſuch is the kingdom of* " *God:* that children, by baptiſm, are ſolemnly received into the " boſom of the viſible church, diſtinguiſhed from the world, and " them that are without, and united with believers; and that all who " are baptized in the name of Chriſt, do renounce, and by their " baptiſm, are bound to fight againſt the devil, the world, and the " fleſh: that they are chriſtians, and fœderally holy before baptiſm, " and therefore are they baptized: that the inward grace and virtue " of baptiſm, is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is " adminiſtered, and that the fruit and power thereof reacheth to the " whole courſe of our life; and that outward baptiſm is not ſo neceſ- " ſary, that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of " damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not contemn or neglect " the ordinance of Chriſt, when and where it may be had."

In theſe, or the like inſtructions, the miniſter is to uſe his own liberty and godly wiſdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptiſm, and the edification of the people ſhall require.

He is alſo to admoniſh all that are preſent,

" To look back to their baptiſm; to repent of their ſins againſt " their covenant with God; to ſtir up their faith; to improve and " make

" make the right uſe of their baptiſm, and of the covenant ſealed " thereby betwixt God and their ſouls."

He is to exhort the Parent,

" To conſider the great mercy of God to him and his child, to " bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the chriſtian " religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to " let him know the danger of God's wrath to himſelf and child, if " he be negligent; requiring his ſolemn promiſe for the performance " of his duty."

This being done, prayer is alſo to be joined with the word of inſtruction, for ſanctifying the water to this ſpiritual uſe; and the miniſter is to pray to this or the like effect:

" That the Lord, who hath not left us as ſtrangers without the co- " venant of promiſe, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances, " would graciouſly vouchſafe to ſanctify and bleſs his own ordinance " of baptiſm at this time: that he would join the inward baptiſm of " his ſpirit with the outward baptiſm of water; make this baptiſm to " the infant a ſeal of adoption, remiſſion of ſin, regeneration, and " eternal life, and all other promiſes of the covenant of grace: that " the child may be planted into the likeneſs of the death and reſur- " rection of Chriſt; and that the body of ſin being deſtroyed in him, " he may ſerve God in newneſs of life all his days."

Then the miniſter is to demand the name of the child, which being told him, he is to ſay, (calling the child by his name)

I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

As he pronounceth theſe words, he is to baptize the child with water; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but ſufficient, and moſt expedient to be, by pouring or ſprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and to pray, to this or the like purpoſe:

" Ackowledging with all thankfulneſs, that the Lord is true and " faithful in keeping covenant and mercy; that he is good and gra- " cious, not only in that he numbereth us among his ſaints, but is " pleaſed alſo to beſtow upon our children this ſingular token and " badge of his love in Chriſt: that, in his truth and ſpecial provi- " dence, he daily bringeth ſome into the boſom of his church, to be " partakers of his ineſtimable benefits, purchaſed by the blood of his " dear Son, for the continuance and increaſe of his church.

" And praying, that the Lord would ſtill continue, and daily " confirm more and more this his unſpeakable favour: that he would " receive the infant, now baptized, and ſolemnly entered into the " houſhold of faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and re-

" member him with the favour that he ſheweth to his people: that, " if he ſhall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is " rich in mercy, would be pleaſed to receive him up into glory; and " if he live, and attain the years of diſcretion, that the Lord would " ſo teach him by his word and ſpirit, and make his baptiſm effectual " to him, and ſo uphold him by his divine power and grace, that by " faith he may prevail againſt the devil, the world, and the fleſh, " till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and ſo be kept by " the power of God through faith unto ſalvation, through Jeſus " Chriſt our Lord."

Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

THE communion, or ſupper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: but how often, may be conſidered, and determined by the miniſters, and other church-governors of each congregation, as they ſhall find moſt convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it ſhall be adminiſtered, we judge it convenient to be done after the morning ſermon.

The ignorant and the ſcandalous are not fit to receive this ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

Where this ſacrament cannot with convenience be frequently adminiſtered, it is requiſite that publick warning be given the ſabbath-day before the adminiſtration thereof: and that either then, or on ſome day of that week, ſomething concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught, that by the diligent uſe of all means ſanctified of God to that end, both in publick and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feaſt.

When the day is come for adminiſtration, the miniſter, having ended his ſermon and prayer, ſhall make a ſhort exhortation,

" Expreſſing the ineſtimable benefit we have by this ſacrament; to-" gether with the ends and uſe thereof: ſetting forth the great neceſſity " of having our comforts and ſtrength renewed thereby, in this our " pilgrimage and warfare: how neceſſary it is, that we come unto it " with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungring and " thirſting ſouls after Chriſt and his benefits: how great the danger " to eat and drink unworthily.

" Next, he is, in the name of Chriſt, on the one part, to warn all " ſuch as are ignorant, ſcandalous, profane, or that live in any ſin or " offence againſt their knowledge or conſcience, that they preſume " not to come to that holy table; ſhewing them that he that eateth " and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto him-" ſelf: and on the other part, he is in eſpecial manner to invite and " encourage all that labour under the ſenſe of the burden of their ſins, " and fear of wrath, and deſire to reach out unto a greater progreſs in

" grace

" grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table;
" aſſuring them, in the ſame name, of eaſe, refreſhing, and ſtrength,
" to their weak and wearied ſouls."

After this exhortation, warning, and invitation, the table being before decently covered, and ſo conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly ſit about it, or at it, the miniſter is to begin the action with ſanctifying and bleſſing the elements of bread and wine ſet before him, (the bread in comely and convenient veſſels, ſo prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be diſtributed amongſt the communicants: the wine alſo in large cups;) having firſt in a few words ſhewed, that thoſe elements, otherwiſe common, are now ſet apart and ſanctified to this holy uſe, by the word of inſtitution and prayer.

Let the words of inſtitution be read out of the evangeliſts, or out of the firſt epiſtle of the apoſtle *Paul* to the Corinthians, chap. xi. verſe 23. *I have received of the Lord*, &c. to the 27th verſe, which thé miniſter may, when he ſeeth requiſite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thankſgiving, or bleſſing of the bread and wine, be to this effect:

" WITH humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatneſs
" of our miſery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deli-
" ver us, and of our great unworthineſs of the leaſt of all God's
" mercies; to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and eſpecially
" for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Fa-
" ther, the ſufferings and merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Son of
" God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word,
" and ſacraments; and for this ſacrament in particular, by which Chriſt,
" and all his benefits, are applied and ſealed up unto us, which, not-
" withſtanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy
" continued unto us, after ſo much and long abuſe of them all.

" To profeſs, that there is no other name under heaven by which
" we can be ſaved, but the name of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom alone we
" receive liberty and life, have acceſs to the throne of grace, are ad-
" mitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are ſealed up by his
" ſpirit to an aſſurance of happineſs and everlaſting life.

" Earneſtly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of
" all conſolation, to vouchſafe his gracious preſence, and the effec-
" tual working of his ſpirit in us, and ſo to ſanctify theſe elements,
" both of bread and wine, and to bleſs his own ordinance, that we
" may receive, by faith, the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt crucified
" for us, and ſo to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and
" we with him; that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him,
" who hath loved us, and given himſelf for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with ſuitable affections, anſwerable to ſuch an holy action, and to ſtir up the like in the people.

The elements being now ſanctified by the word and prayer, the miniſter, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and ſay, in theſe expreſſions, (or other the like, uſed by Chriſt, or his apoſtle upon this occaſion:)

" According to the holy inſtitution, command, and example of our " bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I take this bread, and having given " thanks, I break it, and give it unto you, (there the miniſter, who " is alſo himſelf to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to " the communicants:) *Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Chriſt which* " *is broken for you; do this in remembrance of him.*"

In like manner the miniſter is to take the cup, and ſay, in theſe expreſſions, (or other the like, uſed by Chriſt, or the apoſtle, upon the ſame occaſion;)

" According to the inſtitution, command, and example of our " Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I take this cup, and give it unto you, (here " he giveth it to the communicants) *This cup is the New Teſtament* " *in the blood of Chriſt, which is ſhed for the remiſſion of the ſins of* " *many; drink ye all of it.*"

After all have communicated, the miniſter may, in a few words, put them in mind,

" Of the grace of God, in Jeſus Chriſt, held forth in this ſacra- " ment; and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The miniſter is to give ſolemn thanks to God,

" For his rich mercy, and invaluable goodneſs vouchſafed to them " in that ſacrament; and to intreat for pardon for the defects of the " whole ſervice, and for the gracious aſſiſtance of his good ſpirit, " whereby they may be enabled to walk in the ſtrength of that " grace, as becometh thoſe who have received ſo great pledges of " ſalvation."

The collection for the poor is ſo to be ordered, that no part of the publick worſhip be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

THE Lord's day ought to be ſo remembered before-hand, as that all worldly buſineſs of our ordinary callings may be ſo ordered, and ſo timely and ſeaſonably laid aſide, as they may not be impediments to the due ſanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in publick and private, as being the chriſtian ſabbath. To which end it is requiſite, that there be a holy ceſſation, or reſting all the day, from all unneceſſary labours; and an abſtaining, not only from all ſports and paſtimes, but alſo from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be ſo ordered, as that neither ſervants be unneceſſarily detained from the publick worſhip of God, nor any other perſons hindered from the ſanctifying that day.

That

That there be private preparation of every perſon and family, by prayer for themſelves, and for God's aſſiſtance of the miniſter, and for a bleſſing upon his miniſtry; and by ſuch other holy exerciſes as may further diſpoſe them to a more comfortable communion with God in his publick ordinances.

That all the people meet ſo timely for publick worſhip, that the whole congregation may be preſent at the beginning, and with one heart ſolemnly join together in all parts of the publick worſhip, and not depart till after the bleſſing.

That what time is vacant, between, or after the ſolemn meetings of the congregation in publick, be ſpent in reading, meditation, repetition of ſermons; (eſpecially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard) and catechizing of them, holy conferences, prayer for a bleſſing upon the publick ordinances, ſinging of pſalms, viſiting the ſick, relieving the poor, and ſuch-like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the ſabbath a delight.

The Solemnizatian of Marriage.

ALTHOUGH marriage be no ſacrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and of publick intereſt in every commonwealth; yet becauſe ſuch as marry, are to marry in the Lord, and have ſpecial need of inſtruction, direction, and exhortation from the word of God, at their entering into ſuch a new condition; and of the bleſſing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that marriage be ſolemnized by a lawful miniſter of the word, that he may accordingly counſel them, and pray for a bleſſing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only; and they ſuch as are not within the degrees of conſanguinity or affinity prohibited by the word of God; and the parties are to be of years of diſcretion, fit to make their own choice, or upon good grounds to give their mutual conſent.

Before the ſolemnizing of marriage between any perſons, their purpoſe of marriage ſhall be publiſhed by the miniſter, three ſeveral ſabbath days, in the congregation, at the place or places of their moſt uſual and conſtant abode reſpectively. And of this publication, the miniſter who is to join them in marriage ſhall have ſufficient teſtimony, before he proceed to ſolemnize the marriage.

Before that publication of ſuch their purpoſe, (if the parties be under age) the conſent of the parents, or others under whoſe power they are, (in caſe the parents be dead) is to be made known to the church officers of that congregation, to be recorded.

The like is to be obſerved in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whoſe parents are living, for their firſt marriage. And in after marriages of either of thoſe parties, they ſhall be exhorted not

to

to contract marriage without firſt acquainting their parents with it, (if with conveniency it may be done) endeavouring to obtain their conſent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their free conſent, nor deny their own conſent without juſt cauſe.

After the purpoſe or contract of marriage hath been thus publiſhed, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the miniſter, having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publickly to ſolemnize it in the place appointed by authority for publick worſhip, before a competent number of credible witneſſes, at ſome convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of publick humiliation. And we adviſe that it be not on the Lord's day.

And becauſe all relations are ſanctified by the word and prayer, the miniſter is to pray for a bleſſing upon them to this effect:

" Acknowledging our ſins, whereby we have made ourſelves leſs " than the leaſt of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to im- " bitter all our comforts; earneſtly, in the name of Chriſt, to intreat " the Lord (whoſe preſence and favour is the happineſs of every " condition, and ſweetens every relation) to be their portion, and to " own and accept them in Chriſt, who are now to be joined in the " honourable eſtate of marriage, the covenant of their God: and " that, as he hath brought them together by his providence, he " would ſanctify them by his ſpirit, giving them a new frame of " heart, fit for their new eſtate; enriching them with all graces, " whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo " the cares, and reſiſt the temptations, which accompany that condi- " tion, as becometh chriſtians."

The prayer being ended, it is convenient that the miniſter do briefly declare unto them out of the ſcripture,

" The inſtitution, uſe, and ends of marriage, with the conjugal " duties, which in all faithfulneſs, they are to perform each to other; " exhorting them to ſtudy the holy word of God, that they may learn " to live by faith, and to be content in the midſt of all marriage-cares " and troubles, ſanctifying God's name, in a thankful, ſober, and " holy uſe of all conjugal comforts; praying much with and for one " another; watching over, and provoking each other to love and " good works; and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life."

After ſolemn charging of the perſons to be married before the great God, who ſearcheth all hearts, and to whom they muſt give a ſtrict account at the laſt day, that if either of them know any cauſe, by precontract, or otherwiſe, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, that they now diſcover it: the miniſter (if no impediment be acknowledged) ſhall cauſe firſt the man to take the woman by the right hand, ſaying theſe words,

I N.

I N. *do take thee* N. *to be my married wife, and do, in the preſence of God, and before this congregation, promiſe and covenant to be a loving and faithful huſband unto thee, until God ſhall ſeparate us by death.*

Then the woman ſhall take the man by his right hand, and ſay theſe words,

I N. *do take thee* N. *to be my married huſband, and I do, in the preſence of God, and before this congregation, promiſe and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God ſhall ſeparate us by death.*

Then, without any further ceremony, the miniſter ſhall, in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be huſband and wife, according to God's ordinance; and ſo conclude the action with prayer to this effect;

"That the Lord would be pleaſed to accompany his own ordi-
"nance with his bleſſing, beſeeching him to enrich the perſons now
"married, as with other pledges of his love, ſo particularly with the
"comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praiſe of his abundant
"mercy, in and through Chriſt Jeſus."

A regiſter is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties ſo married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book, provided for that purpoſe, for the peruſal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Viſitation of the Sick.

IT is the duty of the miniſter, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in publick; but privately and particularly to admoniſh, exhort, reprove, and comfort them, upon all ſeaſonable occaſions, ſo far as his time, ſtrength, and perſonal ſafety will permit.

He is to admoniſh them, in time of health, to prepare for death; and for that purpoſe, they are often to confer with their miniſter about the eſtate of their ſouls; and in times of ſickneſs, to deſire his advice and help, timely and ſeaſonably, before their ſtrength and underſtanding fail them.

Times of ſickneſs and affliction are ſpecial opportunities put into his hand by God, to miniſter a word in ſeaſon to weary ſouls; becauſe then the conſciences of men are, or ſhould be more awakened to bethink themſelves of their ſpiritual eſtates for eternity; and Satan alſo takes advantage then, to load them more with ſore and heavy temptatio therefore the miniſter being ſent for, and repairing to the ſick, ns: apply himſelf with all tenderneſs and love, to adminiſter ſome is to ual good to his ſoul to this effect.

He m ſpirit om the conſideration of the preſent ſickneſs, inſtruct him out ay, fr ipture, that diſeaſes come not by chance, or by diſ-

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tempers of body only, but by the wiſe and orderly guidance of the good hand of God, to every particular perſon ſmitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of diſpleaſure for ſin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exerciſe of his graces, or for other ſpecial and excellent ends, all his ſufferings ſhall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he ſincerely labour to make a ſanctified uſe of God's viſitation, neither deſpiſing his chaſtening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he ſuſpect him of ignorance, he ſhall examine him in the principles of religion, eſpecially touching repentance and faith; and as he ſeeth cauſe, inſtruct him in the nature, uſe, excellency, and neceſſity of thoſe graces; as alſo touching the covenant of grace, and Chriſt the Son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remiſſion of ſins by faith in him.

He ſhall exhort the ſick perſon to examine himſelf, to ſearch and try his former ways, and his eſtate towards God.

And if the ſick perſon ſhall declare any ſcruple, doubt or temptation that are upon him, inſtructions and reſolutions ſhall be given to ſatisfy and ſettle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due ſenſe of his ſins, endeavours ought to be uſed to convince him of his ſins, of the guilt and deſert of them; of the filth and pollution which the ſoul contracts by them; and of the curſe of the law, and wrath of God, due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them: and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting ſalvation at any time offered; to awaken his conſcience, and rouſe him up out of a ſtupid and ſecure condition, to apprehend the juſtice and wrath of God, before whom none can ſtand, but he that, being loſt to himſelf, layeth hold upon Chriſt by faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of holineſs, and to ſerve God in uprightneſs, although not without many failings and infirmities; or if his ſpirit be broken with the ſenſe of ſin, or caſt down through want of the ſenſe of God's favour, then it will be fit to raiſe him up, by ſetting before him the freeneſs and fulneſs of God's grace, the ſufficiency of righteouſneſs in Chriſt, the gracious offers in the goſpel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Chriſt, renouncing their own righteouſneſs, ſhall have life and ſalvation in him: it may alſo be uſeful to ſhew him, that death hath in it no ſpiritual evil to be feared by thoſe that are in Chriſt, becauſe ſin, the ſting of death, is taken away by Chriſt, who hath delivered all that are his, from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himſelf entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: ſo that neither life nor death ſhall be able to ſeparate them from God's love in Chriſt, in whom ſuch are ſure, though now they muſt be laid in the duſt, to obtain a joyful and glorious reſurrection to eternal life.

Advice

Advice alſo may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded perſuaſion on mercy, or on the goodneſs of his condition for heaven, ſo to diſclaim all merit in himſelf, and to caſt himſelf wholly upon God for mercy, in the ſole merits and mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, who hath engaged himſelf never to caſt off them, who in truth and ſincerity come unto him. Care alſo muſt be taken, that the ſick perſon be not caſt down into deſpair, by ſuch a ſevere repreſentation of the wrath of God due to him for his ſins, as is not mollified by a ſeaſonable propounding of Chriſt and his merit, for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When the ſick perſon is beſt compoſed, may be leaſt diſturbed, and other neceſſary offices about him leaſt hindered, the miniſter, if deſired, ſhall pray with him, and for him, to this effect;

" Confeſſing and bewailing of ſin original and actual, the miſerable " condition of all by nature, as being children of wrath, and under " the curſe; acknowledging that all diſeaſes, ſickneſſes, death, and " hell itſelf, are the proper iſſues and effects thereof; imploring " God's mercy for the ſick perſon through the blood of Chriſt; be- " ſeeching that God would open his eyes, diſcover unto him his ſins, " cauſe him to ſee himſelf loſt in himſelf, make known to him the " cauſe why God ſmiteth him, reveal Jeſus Chriſt to his ſoul for " righteouſneſs and life, give unto him his holy ſpirit to create and " ſtrengthen faith, to lay hold upon Chriſt, to work in him com- " fortable evidences of his love, to arm him againſt temptations, to " take off his heart from the world, to ſanctify his preſent viſitation, " to furniſh him with patience and ſtrength to bear it, and to give " him perſeverance in faith to the end.

" That if God ſhall pleaſe to add to his days, he would vouchſafe " to bleſs and ſanctify all means of his recovery, to remove the " diſeaſe, renew his ſtrength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, " by a faithful remembrance, and diligent obſerving of ſuch vows " and promiſes of holineſs and obedience, as men are apt to make in " times of ſickneſs, that he may glorify God in the remaining part " of his life.

" And if God have determined to finiſh his days by the preſent " viſitation, he may find ſuch evidence of the pardon of all his ſins, " of his intereſt in Chriſt, and eternal life by Chriſt, as may cauſe " his inward man to be renewed, while his outward man decayeth; " that he may behold death without fear, caſt himſelf wholly upon " Chriſt without doubting, deſire to be diſſolved and be with Chriſt, " and ſo receive the end of his faith, the ſalvation of his ſoul, through " the only merits and interceſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our alone " Saviour, and all-ſufficient Redeemer."

The miniſter ſhall admoniſh him alſo (as there ſhall be cauſe) to ſet his houſe in order, thereby to prevent inconveniencies; to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make reſtitution or ſatisfaction

faction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to thoſe with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their treſpaſſes againſt him, as he expects forgiveneſs at the hand of God.

Laſtly, the miniſter may improve the preſent occaſion to exhort thoſe about the ſick perſon, to conſider their own mortality, to return to the Lord and make peace with him; in health to prepare for ſickneſs, death, and judgment; and all the days of their appointed time, ſo to wait until their change come, that when Chriſt, who is our life, ſhall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

WHEN any perſon departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the houſe to the place appointed for publick burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.

And becauſe the cuſtoms of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead corpſe, and other ſuch uſages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to burial, are ſuperſtitious; and for that, praying, reading, and ſinging, both in going to, and at the grave, have been groſly abuſed, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all ſuch things be laid aſide.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the chriſtian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for publick burial, do apply themſelves to meditations, and conferences ſuitable to the occaſion: and that the miniſter, as upon other occaſions, ſo at this time, if he be preſent, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this ſhall not extend to deny any civil reſpects or deferences at the burial, ſuitable to the rank and condition of the party deceaſed, while he was living.

Concerning publick ſolemn Faſting.

WHEN ſome great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people, or apparently imminent, or by ſome extraordinary provocations notoriouſly deſerved; as alſo, when ſome ſpecial bleſſing is to be ſought and obtained, publick ſolemn faſting (which is to continue the whole day) is a duty that God expecteth from that nation or people.

A religious faſt requires total abſtinence, not only from all food, (unleſs bodily weakneſs do manifeſtly diſable from holding out till the faſt be ended, in which caſe, ſomewhat may be taken, yet very ſparingly, to ſupport nature, when ready to faint) but alſo from all worldly labour, diſcourſes and thoughts, and from all bodily delights, (although

(although at other times lawful) rich apparel, ornaments, and ſuch like, during the faſt; and much more from whatever is, in the nature or uſe, ſcandalous and offenſive, as gaudiſh attire, laſcivious habits and geſtures, and other vanities of either ſex; which we recommend to all miniſters, in their places, diligently and zealouſly to reprove, as at other times, ſo eſpecially at a faſt, without reſpect of perſons, as there ſhall be occaſion.

Before the publick meeting, each family and perſon apart are privately to uſe all religious care to prepare their hearts to ſuch ſolemn work, and to be early at the congregation.

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be ſpent in publick reading and preaching of the word, with ſinging of pſalms, fit to quicken affections ſuitable to ſuch a duty, but eſpecially in prayer, to this or the like effect:

"Giving glory to the great majeſty of God, the creator, preſerver, "and ſupreme ruler of all the world, the better to affect us thereby "with an holy reverence and awe of him; acknowledging his mani- "fold, great, and tender mercies, eſpecially to the church and nation, "the more effectually to ſoften and abaſe our hearts before him; "humbly confeſſing of ſins of all ſorts, with their ſeveral aggrava- "tions; juſtifying God's righteous judgments, as being far leſs than "our ſins do deſerve; yet humbly and earneſtly imploring his mercy "and grace for ourſelves, the church and nation, for our king, and "all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray, "(according as the preſent exigence requireth) with more ſpecial "importunity and enlargement than at other times; applying, by "faith, the promiſes and goodneſs of God, for pardon, help, and "deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deſerved; and for obtain- "ing the bleſſings which we need and expect; together with a giving "up of ourſelves wholly and for ever unto the Lord."

In all theſe, the miniſters, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought ſo to ſpeak from their hearts, upon ſerious and thorough premeditation of them, that both themſelves and the people may be much affected, and even melted thereby; eſpecially with ſorrow for their ſins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflicting of the ſoul.

Special choice is to be made of ſuch ſcriptures to be read, and of ſuch texts for preaching, as may beſt work the hearts of the hearers to the ſpecial buſineſs of the day, and moſt diſpoſe them to humiliation and repentance; inſiſting moſt on thoſe particulars, which each miniſter's obſervation and experience tells him, are moſt conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the cloſe of the publick duties, the miniſter is, in his own and the people's names, to engage his and their hearts to be the Lord's, with profeſſed purpoſe and reſolution to reform whatever is

amiſs

amiſs amongſt them, and more particularly ſuch ſins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more cloſely and faithfully with him in new obedience, than ever before.

He is alſo to admoniſh the people with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the publick duties of it, but that they are ſo to improve the remainder of the day, and of their whole life, in reinforcing upon themſelves and their families in private, all thoſe godly affections and reſolutions which they profeſſed in publick, as that they may be ſettled in their hearts for ever, and themſelves may more ſenſibly find, that God hath ſmelt a ſweet ſavour in Chriſt from their performances, and is pacified towards them, by anſwers of grace, in pardoning of ſin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of bleſſings, ſuitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jeſus Chriſt.

Beſides ſolemn and general faſts enjoined by authority, we judge, that at other times congregations may keep days of faſting, as Divine Providence ſhall adminiſter unto them ſpecial occaſions. And alſo, that families may do the ſame, ſo it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong, is to meet for faſting, or other publick duties of worſhip.

Concerning the Obſervation of Days of publick Thankſgiving.

WHEN any ſuch day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occaſion thereof, ſome convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themſelves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation (after private preparations) being aſſembled, the miniſter is to begin with a word of exhortation, to ſtir up the people to the duty for which they are met, and with a ſhort prayer for God's aſſiſtance and bleſſing, (as at other conventions for publick worſhip) according to the particular occaſion of their meeting.

Let him then make ſome pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occaſioned that aſſembling of the congregation, that all may better underſtand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And becauſe ſinging of pſalms is of all other the moſt proper ordinance for expreſſing of joy and thankſgiving, let ſome pertinent pſalm or pſalms be ſung for that purpoſe, before or after the reading of ſome portion of the word, ſuitable to the preſent buſineſs.

Then let the miniſter who is to preach, proceed to further exhortation and prayer before his ſermon, with ſpecial reference to the preſent work: after which, let him preach upon ſome text of ſcripture pertinent to the occaſion.

The ſermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other time after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the neceſſities of the church,

church, king, and ſtate, (if before the ſermon they were omitted) but enlarge himſelf in due and ſolemn thankſgiving for former mercies and deliverances, but more eſpecially for that which at the preſent calls them together to give thanks: with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need ſhall be, and for ſanctifying grace to make a right uſe thereof. And ſo, having ſung another pſalm ſuitable to the mercy, let him diſmiſs the congregation with a bleſſing, that they may have ſome convenient time for their repaſt and refreſhment.

But the miniſter (before their diſmiſſion) is ſolemnly to admoniſh them, to beware of all exceſs and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenneſs, and much more of theſe ſins themſelves, in their eating and refreſhing; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but ſpiritual, which may make God's praiſe to be glorious, and themſelves humble and ſober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, further to celebrate his praiſes in the midſt of the congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation ſhall be again aſſembled, the like courſe in praying, reading, preaching, ſinging of pſalms, and offering up of more praiſe and thankſgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued ſo far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the publick meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor, (and in the like manner upon the day of publick humiliation) that their loins may bleſs us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter meeting, to ſpend the reſidue of that day in holy duties, and teſtifications of chriſtian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord, as becometh thoſe who make the joy of the Lord their ſtrength.

Of Singing of Pſalms.

It is the duty of chriſtians to praiſe God publickly, by ſinging of pſalms together in the congregation, and alſo privately in the family.

In ſinging of pſalms the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief muſt be, to ſing with underſtanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a pſalm-book; and all others, not diſabled by age, or otherwiſe, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the preſent, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the miniſter, or ſome other fit perſon appointed by him, and the other ruling officers, do read the pſalm line by line, before the ſinging thereof.

An APPENDIX, *touching Days and Places of publick Worſhip.*

THERE is no day commanded in ſcripture to be kept holy under the goſpel, but the Lord's day, which is the chriſtian ſabbath.

Feſtival days, vulgarly called holy days, having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheleſs, it is lawful and neceſſary, upon ſpecial emergent occaſions, to ſeparate a day or days for publick faſting or thankſgiving, as the ſeveral eminent and extraordinary diſpenſations of God's providence ſhall adminiſter cauſe and opportunity to his people.

As no place is capable of any holineſs, under pretence of whatſoever dedication or conſecration; ſo neither is it ſubject to ſuch pollution by any ſuperſtition formerly uſed, and now laid aſide, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for chriſtians to meet together therein for the publick worſhip of God. And therefore we hold it requiſite, that the places of publick aſſembling for worſhip amongſt us, ſhould be continued, and employed to that uſe.

THE CONTENTS OF THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLICK WORSHIP OF GOD.

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No. VIII.

The FORM *of* PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Agreed upon by the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter; examined and approved, *anno* 1645, by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND, &c.

THE PREFACE.

JESUS CHRIST, upon whoſe ſhoulders the government is, whoſe name is called wonderful, counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the prince of peace,[h] *of the increaſe of whoſe government and peace there ſhall be no end, who ſits upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to eſtabliſh it with judgment and juſtice, from henceforth even for ever, having all power given unto him even in heaven and in earth by the Father, who raiſed him from the dead, and ſet him at his own right hand, far above all principalities and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come, and put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all; he being aſcended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, received gifts for his church, and gave offices neceſſary for the edification of his church, and perfecting of his ſaints.*

Of the Church.

THERE is one general church viſible held forth in the New Teſtament, 1 *Cor.* xii. 12, 13, 28, together with the reſt of the chapter.

The miniſtry, oracles, and ordinances of the New Teſtament, are given by Jeſus Chriſt to the general church viſible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life, until his ſecond coming, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. *Eph.* iv. 4, 5, compared with *ver.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, of the ſame chapter.

Particular viſible churches, members of the general church, are alſo held forth in the New Teſtament, *Gal.* i. 21, 22. *Rev.* i. 4, 20, and *Rev.* ii. 1. Particular churches, in the primitive times, were made up of viſible ſaints, *viz.* of ſuch as, being of age, profeſſed faith in Chriſt, and obedience unto Chriſt, according to the rules of faith and

[h] Iſa. 9. 6, 7.

life,

life, taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles; and of their children, *Acts* ii. 38, 41. *Acts* ii. *ver.* laſt, compared with *Acts* v. 14. 1 *Cor.* i. 2, compared with 2 *Cor.* ix. 13. *Acts* ii. 39. 1 *Cor.* vii. 14. *Rom.* ix. 16, and ſo forward; *Mark* x. 14, compared with *Matt.* xix. 13, 14. *Luke* xviii. 15, 16.[b]

Of the Officers of the Church.

THE officers which Chriſt hath appointed for the edification of his church, and the perfecting of the ſaints, are,

Some extraordinary, as apoſtles, evangeliſts, and prophets, which are ceaſed.

Others ordinary and perpetual, as paſtors, teachers, and other church governors, and deacons.

Paſtors.

THE paſtor is an ordinary and perpetual officer in the church. *Jer.* iii. 15, 16, 17; propheſying of the time of the goſpel. 1 *Pet.* v. 2, 3, 4. *Eph.* iv. 11, 12, 13.

Firſt, it belongs to his office,

To pray for and with his flock, as the mouth of the people unto God. *Acts* vi. 2, 3, 4. *Acts* xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as ſeveral parts of the ſame office. *James* v. 14, 15. The office of the elder, that is, the paſtor, is to pray for the ſick, even in private, to which a bleſſing is eſpecially promiſed; much more therefore ought he to perform this in the publick execution of his office, as a part thereof. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15, 16.

To read the ſcripture publickly; for the proof of which,

1. That the prieſts and levites in the *Jewiſh* church were truſted with the publick reading of the word, as is proved, *Deut.* xxxi. 9, 10, 11. *Neh.* viii. 1, 2, 13.

2. That the miniſters of the goſpel have as ample a charge and commiſſion to diſpenſe the word, as well as other ordinances, as the prieſts and levites had under the law, proved, *Iſa.* lxvi. 21, and *Matt.* xxiii. 34, where our Saviour intituleth the officers of the New Teſtament, whom he will ſend forth, by the ſame names of the teachers of the Old.

Which propoſitions prove, that therefore (the duty being of a moral nature) it followeth by juſt conſequence, that the publick reading of the ſcriptures belongeth to the paſtor's office.

To feed the flock, by preaching of the word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort. 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. 2 *Tim.* iii. 16, 17. *Tit.* i. 9.

[b] Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Eph. i. 20. 21, 22, *compared with* Eph. iv. 8, 11, *and* Pſalm lxviii. 18.

To

To catechiſe, which is a plain laying down the firſt principles of the oracles of God, *Heb.* v. 12; or of the doctrine of Chriſt, and is a part of preaching.

To diſpenſe other divine myſteries, 1 *Cor.* iv. 1, 2.

To adminiſter the ſacraments, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20. *Mark* xvi. 15, 16. 1 *Cor.* xi. 23, 24, 25, compared with 1 *Cor.* x. 16.

To bleſs the people from God, *Numb.* vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, compared with *Rev.* xiv. 5, (where the ſame bleſſings, and perſons from whom they come, are expreſsly mentioned) *Iſa.* lxvi. 21, where, under the names of prieſts and levites, to be continued under the goſpel, are meant evangelical paſtors, who therefore are by office to bleſs the people, *Deut.* x. 8. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14. *Eph.* i. 2.

To take care of the poor, *Acts* xi. 30. *Acts* iv. 34, 35, 36, 37. *Acts.* vi. 2, 3, 4. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Gal.* ii. 9, 10.

And he hath alſo a ruling power over the flock as a paſtor, 1 *Tim.* v. 17. *Acts* xx. 17, 28. 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12. *Heb.* xiii. 7, 17.

Teacher or Doctor.

THE ſcripture doth hold out the name and title of teacher, as well as of the paſtor, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. *Eph.* iv. 11.

Who is alſo a miniſter of the word as well as the paſtor, and hath power of adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

The Lord having given different gifts, and divers exerciſes according to theſe gifts, in the miniſtry of the word, *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 *Cor.* xii. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, though theſe different gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exerciſed by one and the ſame miniſter, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 3. 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. *Tit.* i. 9; yet, where be ſeveral miniſters in the ſame congregation, they may be deſigned to ſeveral employments, according to the different gifts in which each of them doth moſt excel. *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 *Pet.* iv. 10, 11. And he that doth more excel in expoſition of ſcriptures, in teaching ſound doctrine, and in convincing gainſayers, than he doth in application, and is accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher, or doctor, (the places alledged by the notation of the word do prove the propoſition) nevertheleſs, where is but one miniſter in a particular congregation, he is to perform ſo far as he is able the whole work of the miniſtry, as appeareth in 2 *Tim.* iv. 2. *Tit.* i. 9, before alledged, 1 *Tim.* vi. 2.

A teacher or doctor, is of moſt excellent uſe in ſchools and univerſities; as of old in the ſchools of the prophets, and at Jeruſalem, where *Gamaliel* and others taught as doctors.

Other Church Governors.

AS there were in the *jewiſh* church, elders of the people joined with the prieſts and levites in the government of the church, (as appeareth in 2 *Chron.* xix. 8, 9, 10.) ſo Chriſt, who hath inſtituted a government, and governors eccleſiaſtical in the church, hath furniſhed ſome

in his church, beſide the miniſters of the word, with gifts for government, and with commiſſion to execute the ſame when called thereunto, who are to join with the miniſter in the government of the church, *Rom.* xii. 7, 8. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. Which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Deacons.

THE ſcripture doth hold out deacons as diſtinct officers in the church. *Phil.* i. 1. 1 *Tim.* iii. 8.

Whoſe office is perpetual. 1 *Tim.* iii. 8, to *verſe* 15. *Acts* vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. To whoſe office it belongs not to preach the word, or adminiſter the ſacraments, but to take ſpecial care in diſtributing to the neceſſities of the poor. *Acts* vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, and the verſes following.

Of particular Congregations.

IT is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is, a certain company of chriſtians to meet in one aſſembly ordinarily for publick worſhip. When believers multiply to ſuch a number that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they ſhould be divided into diſtinct and fixed congregations, for the better adminiſtration of ſuch ordinances as belong unto them, and the diſcharge of mutual duties. 1 *Cor.* xiv. *verſe* 26. *Let all things be done unto edifying*; and *verſes* 33, and 40.

The ordinary way of dividing chriſtians into diſtinct congregations, and moſt expedient for edification, is by the reſpective bounds of their dwellings.

1*ſt.* Becauſe they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to diſcharge them; which moral tie is perpetual, for Chriſt came not to deſtroy the law, but to fulfil it, *Deut.* xv. 7, 11. *Matt.* xxii. 39. *Matt.* v. 17.

2*dly.* The communion of ſaints muſt be ſo ordered, as may ſtand with the moſt convenient uſe of the ordinances, and diſcharge of moral duties, without reſpect of perſons. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 26. *Let all things be done unto edifying.* *Heb.* x. 24, 25. *James* ii. 1, 2.

3*dly.* The paſtor and people muſt ſo nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their duties each to other with moſt conveniency.

In this company ſome muſt be ſet apart to bear office.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

FOR officers in a ſingle congregation, there ought to be one at the leaſt, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule. *Prov.* xxix. 18. 1 *Tim.* v. 17. *Heb.* xiii. 7.

It

It is alſo requiſite that there ſhould be others to join in government. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28.

And likewiſe it is requiſite that there ſhould be others to take ſpecial care for the relief of the poor. *Acts* vi. 2, 3.

The number of each of which is to be proportioned according to the condition of the congregation.

Theſe officers are to meet together at convenient and ſet times, for the well ordering the affairs of that congregation, each according to his office.

It is moſt expedient that in theſe meetings, one whoſe office is to labour in the word and doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings. 1 *Tim.* v. 17.

Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

The ordinances in a ſingle congregation are, prayer, thankſgiving, and ſinging of pſalms; (1 *Tim.* ii. 1. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15, 16.) the word read, (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read) the word expounded and applied, catechiſing, the ſacraments adminiſtered, collection made for the poor, diſmiſſing the people with a bleſſing.

Of Church Government, and the ſeveral Sorts of Aſſemblies for the ſame.

CHRIST hath inſtituted a government, and governors eccleſiaſtical in the church: to that purpoſe, the apoſtles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jeſus Chriſt, and did uſe and exerciſe them in all the churches of the world, upon all occaſions.

And Chriſt hath ſince continually furniſhed ſome in his church with gifts of government, and with commiſſion to execute the ſame, when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by ſeveral ſorts of aſſemblies, which are congregational, claſſical, and ſynodical.

Of the Power in common of all theſe Aſſemblies.

IT is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the ſeveral aſſemblies before-mentioned have power to convene, and call before them, any perſon within their ſeveral bounds, whom the eccleſiaſtical buſineſs which is before them doth concern; proved by *Matt. chap.* xviii.

They have power to hear and determine ſuch cauſes and differences as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that all the ſaid aſſemblies have ſome power to diſpenſe church cenſures.

Of Congregational Aſſemblies, that is, the Meeting of the ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the government thereof.

THE ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they ſhall ſee juſt occaſion,

To enquire into the knowledge and ſpiritual eſtate of the ſeveral members of the congregation.

To admoniſh and rebuke.

Which three branches are proved by *Heb.* xiii. 17. 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12, 13. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative ſuſpenſion from the Lord's table of a perſon not yet caſt out of the church, is agreeable to the ſcripture;

1*ſt*. Becauſe the ordinance itſelf muſt not be profaned.

2*dly*. Becauſe we are charged to withdraw from thoſe that walk diſorderly.

3*dly*. Becauſe of the great ſin and danger, both to him that comes unworthily, and alſo to the whole church. *Matt.* vii. 6. 2 *Theſſ.* iii. 6, 14, 15. 1 *Cor.* xi. 27, to the end of the chapter, compared with *Jude, verſe* 23. 1 *Tim.* v. 22. And there was power and authority, under the Old Teſtament, to keep unclean perſons from holy things, *Levit.* xiii. 5. *Numb.* ix. 7. 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 19.

The like power and authority, by way of analogy, continues under the New Teſtament.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoratively, to ſuſpend from the Lord's table a perſon, not yet caſt out of the church.

1*ſt*. Becauſe thoſe who have authority to judge of, and admit ſuch as are fit receive the ſacrament, have authority to keep back ſuch as ſhall be found unworthy.

2*dly*. Becauſe it is an eccleſiaſtical buſineſs of ordinary practice belonging to that congregation.

When congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual help one from another, both in regard of their intrinſical weakneſſes, and mutual dependence; as alſo, in regard of enemies from without.

Of Claſſical Aſſemblies.

THE ſcripture doth hold out a preſbytery in a church, both in the firſt epiſtle to *Timothy*, iv. 14. And in *Acts* xv. 2, 4, 6.

A preſbytery conſiſteth of miniſters of the word, and ſuch other publick officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by the word of God, to be church governors, to join with the miniſters in the government of the church; as appeareth, *Rom.* xii. 7, 8. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28.

The

The ſcripture doth hold forth, that many particular congregations may be under one preſbyterial government.

This propoſition is proved by inſtances.

I. *Firſt.* Of the church of Jeruſalem, which conſiſted of more congregations than one, and all theſe congregations were under one preſbyterial government.

This appeareth thus:

1. *Firſt.* The church of Jeruſalem conſiſted of more congregations than one, as is manifeſt,

1*ſt.* By the multitude of believers mentioned in divers places. Both before the diſperſion of the believers there, by means of the perſecution, (mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, *chap.* viii. in the beginning thereof) witneſs, *chap.* i. *verſe* 11. *chap.* ii. *verſes* 41, 46, and 47, *chap.* iv. 4, *chap.* v. 14, *chap.* vi. of the ſame book of the *Acts*, *verſes* 1, 7. And alſo after the diſperſion, *Acts* ix. 31; xii. 24; and xxi. 20, of the ſame book.

2*dly.* By the many apoſtles and other preachers in the church of Jeruſalem: and if there were but one congregation there, then each apoſtle preached but ſeldom; which will not conſiſt with *chap.* vi. *verſe* 2, of the ſame book of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles.

3*dly.* The diverſity of languages amongſt the believers, mentioned both in the ſecond and ſixth *chapters of the Acts*, doth argue more congregations than one in that church.

2. *Secondly.* All thoſe congregations were under one preſbyterial government; becauſe, 1*ſt*, They were one church, *Acts* viii. 1, and *chap.* ii. 47, compared with *chap.* v. 11, *chap.* xii. 5, and *chap.* xv. 4, of the ſame book.

2*dly.* The elders of the church are mentioned, *Acts* xi. 30; xv. 4, 6, 22, and *chap.* xxi. 17, 18, of the ſame book.

3*dly.* The apoſtles did the ordinary acts of preſbyters, as preſbyters in that kirk; which proveth a preſbyterial church before the diſperſion, *Acts* vi.

4*thly*, The ſeveral congregations in Jeruſalem being one church, the elders of that church are mentioned as meeting together for acts of government, *Acts* xi. 30. *Acts* xv. 4, 6, 22, and *chap.* xxi. 17, 18, and ſo forward: which proves that thoſe ſeveral congregations were under one preſbyterial government.

And whether theſe congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is all one as to the truth of the propoſition.

- Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the ſeveral congregations in Jeruſalem, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the church, as to the point of fixedneſs required of officers or members.

3. *Thirdly.*

3. *Thirdly.* Therefore the ſcripture doth hold forth, that many congregations may be under one preſbyterial government.

II. *Secondly.* By the inſtance of the church of Epheſus; for

1. That they were more congregations than one in the church of Epheſus, appears by *Acts* xx. 31, where is mention of *Paul*'s continuance at Epheſus in preaching for the ſpace of three years; and *Acts* xix. 18, 19, 20, where the ſpecial effect of the word is mentioned; and *verſe* 10, and 17, of the ſame chapter, where is a diſtinction of *Jews* and *Greeks*; and 1 *Cor.* xvi. 8, 9, where is a reaſon of *Paul*'s ſtay at Epheſus until *pentecoſt*; and *verſe* 19, where is mention of a particular church in the houſe of *Aquilla* and *Priſcilla* then at Epheſus; as appears, *Acts* xviii. 19, 24, 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the multitude of believers did make more congregations than one in the church of Epheſus.

2. That there were many elders over theſe many congregations, as one flock, appeareth *Acts* xx. 17, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37.

3. That theſe many congregations were one church, and that they were under one preſbyterial government, appeareth *Rev.* ii. the firſt ſix verſes, joined with *Acts* xx. 17, 18.

Of Synodical Aſſemblies.

THE ſcripture doth hold out another ſort of aſſemblies, for the government of the church, beſide claſſical and congregational, all which we call ſynodical, *Acts* xv. Paſtors and teachers, and other church governors, (as alſo other fit perſons, when it ſhall be deemed expedient) are members of thoſe aſſemblies which we call ſynodical, where they have a lawful calling thereunto.

Synodical aſſemblies may lawfully be of ſeveral ſorts, as provincial, national, and œcumenical.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that there be a ſubordination of congregational, claſſical, provincial, and national aſſemblies, for the government of the church.

OF THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

UNDER the head of ordination of miniſters is to be conſidered, either the doctrine of ordination, or the power of it.

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

No man ought to take upon him the office of a miniſter of the word, without a lawful calling. *John* iii. 27. *Rom.* x. 14, 15. *Jer.* xiv. 14. *Heb.* v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the church. *Tit.* i. 5. 1 *Tim.* v. 21, 22.

Ordination

Ordination is the ſolemn ſetting apart of a perſon to ſome publick church office. *Numb.* viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. *Acts* vi. 3, 5, 6.

Every miniſter of the word is to be ordained by impoſition of hands, and prayer, with faſting, by thoſe preaching preſbyters, to whom it doth belong. 1 *Tim.* v. 22. *Acts* iv. 23, and *Acts* xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that ſuch as are to be ordained miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular church, or other miniſterial charge. *Acts* xiv. 23. *Tit.* i. 5. *Acts* xx. 17, 28.

He that is to be ordained miniſter, muſt be duly qualified, both for life and miniſterial abilities, according to the rules of the Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and *Tit.* i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

He is to be examined and approved by thoſe by whom he is to be ordained. 1 *Tim.* iii. 7, 10. and v. 22.

No man is to be ordained a miniſter for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can ſhew juſt cauſe of exception againſt him. 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. *Tit.* i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

ORDINATION is the act of a preſbytery, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination, is in the whole preſbytery, which when it is over more congregations than one, whether thoſe congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent, as to the point of ordination. 1 *Tim.* iv. 14.

It is very requiſite that no ſingle congregation, that can conveniently aſſociate, do aſſume to itſelf all and ſole power in ordination;

1. Becauſe there is no example in ſcripture, that any ſingle congregation, which might conveniently aſſociate, did aſſume to itſelf all and ſole power in ordination; neither is there any rule which may warrant ſuch a practice.

2. Becauſe there is in ſcripture, example of an ordination in a preſbytery over divers congregations: as in the church of Jeruſalem, where were many congregations, theſe many congregations were under one preſbytery, and this preſbytery did ordain.

The preaching preſbyters orderly aſſociated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are thoſe to whom the impoſition of hands doth appertain, for thoſe congregations within their bounds reſpectively.

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINAL PART OF ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

1. NO man ought to take upon him the office of a miniſter of the word, without a lawful calling. *John* iii. 27. *Rom.* x. 14, 15. *Jer.* xiv. 14. *Heb.* v. 4. 2. Ordi-

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church. *Tit.* i. 5. 1 *Tim.* v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the ſolemn ſetting apart of a perſon to ſome publick church office. *Numb.* viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. *Acts* vi. 3, 5, 6.

4. Every miniſter of the word is to be ordained by impoſition of hands and prayer, with faſting, by thoſe preaching preſbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 *Tim.* v. 22. *Acts* xiv. 23. *Acts* xiii. 3.

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole preſbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether thoſe congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14.

6. It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that ſuch as are to be ordained miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular church, or other miniſterial charge. *Acts* xiv. 23. *Tit.* i. 5. *Acts* xx. 17, 28.

7. He that is to be ordained miniſter, muſt be duly qualified, both for life and miniſterial abilities, according to the rules of the apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. 3, 4, 5, 6. *Tit.* i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

8. He is to be examined, and approved of by thoſe by whom he is to be ordained. 1 *Tim.* iii. 7, 10. 1. *Tim.* v. 22.

9. No man is to be ordained a miniſter for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can ſhew juſt cauſe of exception againſt him. 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. *Tit.* i. 7.

10. Preaching preſbyters orderly aſſociated, either in cities, or neighbouring villages, are thoſe to whom the impoſition of hands do appertain, for thoſe congregations within their bounds reſpectively. 1 *Tim.* iv. 14.

11. In extraordinary caſes, ſomething extraordinary may be done, until a ſettled order may be had, yet keeping as near as poſſible may be to the rule. 2 *Chron.* xxix. 34, 35, 36. 2 *Chron.* xxx. 2, 3, 4, 5.

12. There is at this time, (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary occaſion for a way of ordination for the preſent ſupply of miniſters.

The Directory for the Ordination of Miniſters.

IT being manifeſt, by the word of God, that no man ought to take upon him the office of a miniſter of the goſpel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wiſdom, gravity, and ſolemnity; we humbly tender theſe directions as requiſite to be obſerved.

1. He that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the people, or otherwiſe commended to the preſbytery for any place, muſt addreſs

addreſs himſelf to the preſbytery, and bring with him a teſtimonial of his taking the covenant of the three kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his ſtudies; what degrees he hath taken in the univerſity, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be twenty-four years; but eſpecially of his life and converſation.

2. Which being conſidered by the preſbytery, they are to proceed, to enquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of ſuch holineſs of life as is requiſite in a miniſter of the goſpel; and to examine him touching his learning and ſufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy miniſtry, and in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

THE RULES FOR EXAMINATION ARE THESE.

1. *That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildneſs of ſpirit, and with ſpecial reſpect to the gravity, modeſty, and quality of every one.*

2. *He ſhall be examined touching his ſkill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the* Hebrew *and* Greek *Teſtaments, and rendering ſome portion of ſome into* Latin; *and if he be defective in them, enquiry ſhall be made more ſtrictly after his other learning, and whether he hath ſkill in* logick *and* philoſophy.

3. *What authors in* divinity *he hath read, and is beſt acquainted with. And trial ſhall be made in his knowledge of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them, againſt all unſound and erroneous opinions, eſpecially thoſe of the preſent age; of his ſkill in the ſenſe and meaning of ſuch places of ſcripture as ſhall be propoſed unto him, in caſes of conſcience, and in the chronology of the ſcripture, and the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.*

4. *If he hath not before preached in publick, with approbation of ſuch as are able to judge, he ſhall, at a competent time aſſigned him, expound before the preſbytery ſuch a place of ſcripture as ſhall be given him.*

5. *He ſhall alſo, within a competent time, frame a diſcourſe in* Latin, *upon ſuch a common-place or controverſy in* divinity, *as ſhall be aſſigned him, and exhibit to the preſbytery ſuch* theſes *as expreſs the ſum thereof, and maintain a diſpute upon them.*

6. *He ſhall preach before the people, the preſbytery, or ſome of the miniſtry of the word appointed by them, being preſent.*

7. *The proportion of his gifts, in relation to the place unto which he is called, ſhall be conſidered.*

8. *Beſide the trial of his gifts in preaching, he ſhall undergo an examination in the premiſes two ſeveral days, and more, if the preſbytery ſhall judge it neceſſary.*

9. *And*

9. *And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a miniſter, and is to be removed to another charge, he ſhall bring a teſtimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and converſation, whereupon his fitneſs for that place ſhall be tried by his preaching there, (if it ſhall be judged neceſſary) by a further examination of him.*

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be ſent to the church, where he is to ſerve, there to preach three ſeveral days, and to converſe with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occaſion to enquire into, and the better to know his life and converſation.

4. In the laſt of theſe three days appointed for the trial of his gifts in preaching, there ſhall be ſent from the preſbytery to the congregation, a publick intimation in writing, which ſhall be publickly read before the people, and after affixed to the church door, to ſignify that ſuch a day, a competent number of the members of that congregation, nominated by themſelves, ſhall appear before the preſbytery, to give their conſent and approbation to ſuch a man to be their miniſter; or otherwiſe to put in, with all chriſtian diſcretion and meekneſs, what exceptions they have againſt him; and if, upon the day appointed, there be no juſt exception againſt him, but the people give their conſent, then the preſbytery ſhall proceed to ordination.

5. Upon the day appointed for ordination, which is to be performed in that church, where he that is to be ordained is to ſerve, a ſolemn faſt ſhall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earneſtly join in prayer for a bleſſing upon the ordinance of Chriſt, and the labours of his ſervant for their good. The preſbytery ſhall come to the place, or at leaſt three or four miniſters of the word ſhall be ſent thither from the preſbytery; of which one, appointed by the preſbytery, ſhall preach to the people, concerning the office and duty of miniſters of Chriſt, and how the people ought to receive them for their work's ſake.

6. After the ſermon, the miniſter who hath preached ſhall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and his perſuaſion of the truth of the reformed religion according to the ſcripture; his ſincere intentions and ends in deſiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in prayer, reading, meditation, preaching, miniſtring the ſacraments, diſcipline, and doing all miniſterial duties towards his charge; his zeal and faithfulneſs in maintaining the truth of the goſpel, and unity of the church againſt error and ſchiſm; his care that himſelf and his family may be unblameable, and examples to the flock; his willingneſs and humility, in meekneſs of ſpirit, to ſubmit unto the admonitions of his brethren and diſcipline of the church; and his reſolution to continue in his duty againſt all trouble and perſecution.

7. In

7. In all which having declared himſelf, profeſſed his willingneſs, and promiſed his endeavours, by the help of God; the miniſter likewiſe ſhall demand of the people, concerning their willingneſs to receive and acknowledge him as the miniſter of Chriſt; and to obey, and ſubmit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and aſſiſt him in all the parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promiſed by the people, the preſbytery, or the miniſters ſent from them for ordination, ſhall ſolemnly ſet him apart to the office and work of the miniſtry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a ſhort prayer or bleſſing, to this effect:

" Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God, in ſending " Jeſus Chriſt for the redemption of his people; and for his aſcenſion " to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his " ſpirit, and giving gifts to men, apoſtles, evangeliſts, prophets, paſtors, " and teachers, for the gathering and building up of his church; " and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work;* to intreat " him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him, (who in his name " we thus ſet apart to this holy ſervice) to fulfil the work of his " miniſtry in all things, that he may both ſave himſelf, and his " people committed to his charge."

9. This, or the like form of prayer and bleſſing being ended, let the miniſter who preached, briefly exhort him, to conſider of the greatneſs of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himſelf and his people, the bleſſing which will accompany his faithfulneſs in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themſelves to him, as to their miniſter in the Lord, according to their ſolemn promiſe made before; and ſo by prayer commending both him and his flock to the grace of God, after ſinging of a pſalm, let the aſſembly be diſmiſſed wtih a bleſſing.

10. If a miniſter be deſigned to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained preſbyter, according to the form or ordination which hath been in the church of England, which we hold for ſubſtance to be valid, and not to be diſclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.

11. And in caſe any perſon already ordained miniſter in Scotland, or in any other reformed church, be deſigned to another congregation in England, he is to bring from that church to the preſbytery here, within which that congregation is, a ſufficient teſtimonial of his ordination, of his life and converſation while he lived with them, and of the cauſes of his removal; and to undergo ſuch a trial of his fitneſs and ſufficiency, and to have the ſame courſe held with him in other particulars, as is ſet down in the rule immediately going before, touching examination and admiſſion.

* *Here let them impoſe hands on his head.*

12. That

12. That records be carefully kept in the ſeveral preſbyteries, of the names of the perſons ordained, with their teſtimonials, the time and place of their ordination, of the preſbyters who did impoſe hands upon them, and of the charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no money or gift of what kind ſoever ſhall be received from the perſon to be ordained, or from any on his behalf, for ordination, or ought elſe belonging to it, by any of the preſbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence ſoever.

Thus far of ordinary rules and courſe of ordination in the ordinary way; that which concerns the extraordinary way, requiſite to be now practiſed, followeth.

1. In theſe preſent exigencies, while we cannot have any preſbyteries formed up to their whole power and work, and that many miniſters are to be ordained for the ſervice of the armies and navy, and to many congregations where there is no miniſter at all; and where (by reaſon of the publick troubles) the people cannot either themſelves enquire, and find out one who may be a faithful miniſter for them, or have any with ſafety ſent unto them, for ſuch a ſolemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules, eſpecially when there can be no preſbytery near unto them, to whom they may addreſs themſelves, or which may come or ſend to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people: and yet, notwithſtanding, it is requiſite that miniſters be ordained for them, by ſome, who, being ſet apart themſelves for the work of the miniſtry, have power to join in the ſetting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In thoſe caſes, until, by God's bleſſing, the aforeſaid difficulties may be in ſome good meaſure removed, let ſome godly miniſters in or about the city of London, be deſigned by publick authority, who, being aſſociated, may ordain miniſters for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as poſſibly they may; and let this aſſociation be for no other intent or purpoſe but only for the work of ordination.

2. Let the like aſſociation be made by the ſame authority in great towns, and the neighbouring pariſhes in the ſeveral counties, which are at the preſent quiet and undiſturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.

3. Let ſuch as are choſen, or appointed for the ſervice of the armies or navy, be ordained as aforeſaid, by the aſſociated miniſters of London, or ſome others in the country.

4. Let them do the like when any man ſhall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the miniſtry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and deſire the help of ſuch miniſters ſo aſſociated, for the better furniſhing of them with ſuch a perſon, as by them ſhall be judged fit for the ſervice of that church and people.

THE

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No. IX.

The Aſſemblies Declaration of the Falſehood and Forgery of a lying ſcandalous Pamphlet, put forth under the Name of their Reverend Brother Maſter Alexander Henderſon, *after his Death.*

THE *general aſſembly* of this *kirk* having ſeen a printed paper, intitled, *The Declaration of Mr.* Alexander Henderſon, *principal miniſter of the word of God at Edinburgh, and chief commiſſioner for the kirk of Scotland to the parliament and ſynod of England, made upon his death-bed*; and taking into their ſerious conſideration how many *groſs lies* and *impudent calumnies* are therein contained; out of the tender reſpect which they do bear to *his name, (which ought to be very precious to them and all poſterity, for his faithful ſervice in the great work*

work of reformation in these kingdoms, wherein the Lord was pleased to make him eminently instrumental;) and left through the *malice* of some, and *ignorance* of others, the said *pamphlet* should gain belief among the weaker sort, they have thought fit to make known and declare, concerning the same, as followeth:

That *after due search and trial*, they do find that their worthy brother Master *Alexander Henderson* did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, *upon all occasions manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of reformation in these kingdoms*; namely, in all his discourses and conferences with his Majesty, and with his brethren, who were employed with him in the same trust at Newcastle: in his letters to the commissioners at London, and particularly in his last discourse to his Majesty, at his departing from Newcastle, being very weak, and greatly decayed in his natural strength. When he was come from Newcastle by sea to this kingdom, he was in such a weak, worn, and fail'd condition, as it was evident to all who saw him, that he was not able to frame any such declaration: for he was so spent, that he died within eight days after his arrival; and all that he was able to speak in that time, did clearly shew his *judgment of, and affection to the work of reformation, and cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was in the beginning and progress thereof*; as divers reverend brethren, who visited him, have declared to this assembly, and particularly *two brethren* who constantly attended him from the time he came home, till his breath expired. A further testimony may be brought from *a short confession of faith* under his hand, found amongst his papers, which is expressed as his last words, wherein, among other mercies, he declareth himself *most of all obliged to the care and goodness of God, for calling him to believe the promises of the gospel, and for exalting him to be a preacher of them to others; and to be a willing, though a weak instrument in this great and wonderful work of reformation, which he earnestly beseeched the Lord to bring to a happy conclusion.* Other reasons may be added from *the levity of the style, and manifest absurdities* contained in that paper. Upon consideration of all which, *this assembly doth condemn the said pamphlet as forged, scandalous and false. And further declare the author and contriver of the same, to be void of charity and a good conscience, and A GROSS LIAR and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren.*"

August 7, 1648. Ante meridiem. Sess. 31.

A CON-

No. X.

A CONFESSION *of* FAITH *of Seven Congregations, or Churches of Chriſt in London, which are commonly but unjuſtly called* Anabaptiſts; *publiſhed for the Vindication of the Truth, and Information of the Ignorant; likewiſe for the taking off thoſe Aſperſions, which are frequently, both in Pulpit and Print, unjuſtly caſt upon them. Printed at London, Anno* 1646.

I.

THE Lord our God is but one God, whoſe ſubſiſtence is in himſelf; whoſe eſſence cannot be comprehended by any but himſelf; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto; who is in himſelf moſt holy, every way infinite, in greatneſs, wiſdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſs and truth: who giveth being, moving, and preſervation to all creatures.

1 Cor. viii. 6. Iſa. xliv. 6, and xlvi. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Iſa. xliii. 15. Pſalm cxlvii. 5. Deut. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

II.

In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine Eſſence, yet the Eſſence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature, and being, but diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral peculiar relative properties.

1 Cor. i. 3. John i. 1; and xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

III.

God hath decreed in himſelf, before the world was, concerning all things, whether neceſſary, accidental, or voluntary, with all the circumſtances of them, to work, diſpoſe, and bring about all things according to the counſel of his own will, to his glory: (yet without being the author of ſin, or having fellowſhip with any therein) in which appears his wiſdom in diſpoſing all things, unchangeableneſs, power, and faithfulneſs in accompliſhing his decree: and God hath, before the foundation of the world, fore-ordained ſome men to eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt, to the praiſe and glory of his grace: leaving the reſt in their ſin to their juſt condemnation, to the praiſe of his juſtice.

Iſa. xlvi. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Pſalm xxxiii. 15; cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; and cxliv. 1 Sam. x. 9, 26. Prov. xvi. 4, 33; and xxi. 6. Exod. xxi. 13. Iſa. xlv. 7. Matt. vi. 28, 30. Col. i. 16, 17. Numb. xxiii. 19, 20. Rom. iii. 4. Jer. x. 10; xiv. 22. Eph. i. 4, 5. Jude 4, 6.

In

IV.

In the beginning God made all things very good; created man after his own image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin; but long he abode not in this honour; Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce first *Eve*, then by her seducing *Adam*; who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his posterity; who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free.

Gen. i. 1; and iii. 1, 4, 5. Col. i. 16. Isa. xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. Eccles. vii. 29. 2 Cor. xi. 2. 1 Tim. ii. §14. Gal. iii. 22. Rom. v. 12; vi. 22; and xviii. 19. Eph. ii. 3.

V.

God, in his infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befals any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatsoever befals the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good.

Job xxxviii. 11. Isa. xlvi. 10, 11. Eccles. iii. 14. Mark x. 29, 30. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Rom. viii. 28.

VI.

All the elect, being loved of God with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickened, and saved, not by themselves, nor their own works, lest any man should boast, but only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jesus Christ, who is made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth, might rejoice in the Lord.

Jer. xxiii. 6, and xxxi. 2. Eph. i. 3, 7; and ii. 8, 9. 1 Thess. v. 9. Acts xiii. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Jer. ix. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

VII.

And this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ.

John vi. 36; and xvii, 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Thess. i. 8.

VIII.

The rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is (not men's laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the holy scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatsoever

ſoever is needful forus to know, believe, and practiſe; which are the only rule of holineſs and obedience for all ſaints, at all times, in all places to be obſerved.

Col. ii. 23. Matt. xv. 9, 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. Iſa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

IX.

The Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of whom *Moſes* and the prophets wrote, the apoſtles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightneſs of his glory, *&c.* by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who alſo when the fullneſs of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of *Judah*, of the ſeed of *Abraham* and *David*; to wit, of the virgin *Mary*, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the moſt High overſhadowing her; and he was alſo tempted as we are, yet without ſin.

Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18; and xlix. 9, 10. Dan. vii. 13; and ix. 24, *&c.* Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 8; ii. 16; iv. 15; and vii. 14. Gal. iv. 4. Rev. v. 5. Rom. i. 3; and ix. 10. Matt. i. 16; Luke iii. 23, 26. Iſa. liii. 3, 4, 5.

X.

Jeſus Chriſt is made the mediator of the new and everlaſting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, prieſt, and king of the church of God for evermore.

1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 15. John xiv. 6. Iſa. ix. 6, 7.

XI.

Unto this office he was appointed by God from everlaſting; and in reſpect of his manhood, from the womb called, ſeparated, and anointed moſt fully and abundantly with all gifts neceſſary, God having without meaſure poured out his ſpirit upon him.

Prov. viii. 23. Iſa. xi. 2, 3, 4, 5; xlii. 6; xlix. 15; and lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 17, 22. John i. 14, 26; and iii. 34.

XII.

Concerning his mediatorſhip, the ſcripture holds forth Chriſt's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God as was *Aaron*, it being an action of God, whereby a ſpecial promiſe being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promiſe is, that Chriſt ſhould be made a ſacrifice for ſin; that he ſhould ſee his ſeed, and prolong his days, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand; all of mere free and abſolute grace towards God's elect, and without any condition foreſeen in them to procure it.

Heb. v. 4, 5, 6. Iſa. lii. 10, 11. John iii. 16. Rom. viii. 32.

XIII.

This office to be mediator, that is, to be prophet, prieſt, and king of the church of God, is ſo proper to Chriſt, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it cannot be transferred from him to any other.

1 Tim ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24. Dan. vii. 14. Acts iv. 12. Luke i. 33. John xiv. 6.

XIV.

This office to which Chriſt is called, is threefold; a prophet, prieſt, and king: this number and order of offices is neceſſary, for in reſpect of our ignorance, we ſtand in need of his prophetical office; and in reſpect of our great alienation from God, we need his prieſtly office to reconcile us; and in reſpect of our averſeneſs and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, ſubdue, draw, uphold and preſerve us to his heavenly kingdom.

Deut. viii. 15. Acts iii. 22, 23; and xxvi. 18. Heb. iii. 3; and iv. 14, 15. Pſalm ii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 20. Col. i. 21. John xvi. 8. Pſalm cx. 3. Cant. i. 3. John vi. 44. Phil. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

XV.

Concerning the prophecy of Chriſt, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatſoever is needful for his ſervants to know and obey; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apoſtle of our profeſſion, and the angel of the covenant, but alſo the very wiſdom of God, in whom are hid all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the ſame truth of the goſpel to his people.

John i. 18; xii. 49, 50; and xvii. 8. Matt. xxiii. 10. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. Gal. iii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2.

XVI.

That he might be a prophet every way compleat, it was neceſſary he ſhould be God, and alſo that he ſhould be man: for unleſs he had been God, he could never have perfectly underſtood the will of God; and unleſs he had been man, he could not ſuitably have unfolded it in his own perſon to men.

John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

That Jeſus Chriſt is God, is wonderful clearly expreſſed in the Scriptures. He is called the mighty God, Iſa. ix. 6. *That word was God,* John i. 1. *Chriſt, who is God over all,* Rom. ix. 5. *God manifeſted in the fleſh,* 1 Tim. iii. 16. *The ſame is very God,* John v. 20. *He is the firſt,* Rev. i. 8. *He gives being to all things, and without him was nothing made,* John i. 2. *He forgiveth ſins,* Matt. ix. 6. *He is before* Abraham, John viii. 58. *He was and is, and ever will be the ſame,* Heb. xiii. 8. *He is always with his to the end of the world,* Matt. xxviii. 20. *Which could not be ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt, if he were not God. And to the Son he ſaith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,* Heb. i. 8. John i. 18.

Alſo,

Alſo, Chriſt is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, Gal. iv. 4. *Made of the ſeed of* David, Rom. i. 3. *Coming out of the loins of* David, Acts ii. 30. *Of* Jeſſe *and* Judah, Acts xiii. 23. *In that the children were partakers of fleſh and blood, he himſelf likewiſe took part with them,* Heb. ii. 14. *He took not on him the nature of angels, but the ſeed of* Abraham, ver. 16. *So that we are bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh,* Eph. v. 30. *So that he that ſanctifieth, and they that are ſanctified, are all of one,* Heb. ii. 11. *See* Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

XVII.

Concerning his prieſthood, Chriſt, having ſanctified himſelf, hath appeared once to put away ſin by that one offering of himſelf a ſacrifice for ſin, by which he hath fully finiſhed and ſuffered all things God required for the ſalvation of his elect, and removed all rites and ſhadows, *&c.* and is now entered within the vail into the holy of holies, which is the preſence of God. Alſo, he makes his people a ſpiritual houſe, an holy prieſthood, to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Chriſt offer to the Father, any other worſhip or worſhippers.

John xvii. 19. Heb. v. 7, 8, 9, 10, 12. Rom. v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14, *&c.* Rom. viii. 34. Heb. viii. 1; and ix. 24. 1 Pet. ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

XVIII.

This prieſthood was not legal or temporary, but according to the order of *Melchiſedeck*, and is ſtable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is ſuitable to Jeſus Chriſt, as to him that ever liveth. Chriſt was the prieſt, ſacrifice, and altar: he was a prieſt according to both natures; he was a ſacrifice according to his human nature; whence in ſcripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood; yet the effectualneſs of this ſacrifice did depend upon his divine nature; therefore it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to ſanctify that which is offered upon it, and ſo it ought to be of greater dignity than the ſacrifice itſelf.

Heb. v. 6; vii. 16, *&c.*; ix. 13, 14; x. 10; and xiii. 10, 12, 15. 1 Peter i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20, 22. Acts xx. 28. Matt. xxiii. 17. John xvii. 19,

XIX.

Concerning his kingly office, Chriſt being riſen from the dead, and aſcended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth ſpiritually govern his church, and doth exerciſe his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preſervation and ſalvation of the elect, and to the over-ruling and deſtruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applieth the benefits, virtue, and fruits of his prophecy and prieſthood to his elect, ſubduing their ſins,

preſerving and ſtrengthening them in all their conflicts againſt Satan, the world, and the fleſh, keeping their hearts in faith and filial fear by his ſpirit: by this his mighty power he ruleth the veſſels of wrath, uſing, limiting and reſtraining them, as it ſeems good to his infinite wiſdom.

1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 1; and v. 30, 31. John v. 26, 27; xix. 36; and xvi. 15. Rom. i. 21; v. 6, 7, 8; xiv. 9, 17; and xvii. 18. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Heb. i. 14. Job ii. 8; and xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Peter ii.

XX.

This his kingly power ſhall be more fully manifeſted when he ſhall come in glory to reign among his ſaints, when he ſhall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifeſted in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members.

1 Cor. xv. 24, 28. Heb. ix. 28. 1 Theſſ. iv. 15, 16, 17. 2 Theſſ. i. 9, 10. John xvii. 21, 26.

XXI.

Jeſus Chriſt by his death did purchaſe ſalvation for the elect that God gave unto him: theſe only have intereſt in him, and fellowſhip with him, for whom he makes interceſſion to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as alſo the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none elſe.

Eph. i. 14. Heb. v. 9; and vii. 25. Matt. i. 21. John xvii. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13; and iii. 16.

XXII.

Faith is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the Spirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the ſcriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Chriſt in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulneſs of the Spirit in his workings and operations; and ſo are enabled to caſt their ſouls upon this truth thus believed.

Eph. ii. 8. John iv. 10; vi. 29, 63; and xvii. 17. Phil. i. 29. Gal. v. Heb. iv. 11, 12.

XXIII.

All thoſe that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; ſeeing the gifts of God are without repentance; ſo that he ſtill begets and nouriſheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit unto immortality; and though many ſtorms and floods ariſe, and beat

beat againſt them, yet they ſhall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are faſtened upon; notwithſtanding, through unbelief, and the temptations of Satan, the ſenſible ſight of this light and love be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is ſtill the ſame, and they ſhall be ſure to be kept by the power of God unto ſalvation, where they ſhall enjoy their purchaſed poſſeſſion, they being engraved upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written in the book of life from all eternity.

Matt. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10; and x. 28, 29. 1 Peter i. 4, 5, 6. Iſa. xlix. 13, 14, 15, 16.

XXIV.

Faith is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the goſpel, or word of Chriſt, without reſpect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly paſſive, and dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, doth believe and is converted by no leſs power than that which raiſed Chriſt from the dead.

Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. i. 16; iii. 12; and ix. 16. Ezek. xvi. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

XXV.

The preaching of the goſpel to the converſion of ſinners, is abſolutely free: no way requiring as abſolutely neceſſary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceding miniſtry of the law, but only and alone the naked ſoul, a ſinner and ungodly, to receive Chriſt crucified, dead and buried, and riſen again; who is made a prince and a ſaviour for ſuch ſinners as through the goſpel ſhall be brought to believe on him.

John i. 12; and iii. 14, 15. Iſa. lv. 1. John vii. 37. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rom. iv. 5; and v. 8. Acts v. 30, 31; and ii. 36. 1 Cor. i. 22, 24.

XXVI.

The ſame power that converts to faith in Chriſt, carrieth on the ſoul through all duties, temptations, conflicts, ſufferings; and whatſoever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carried on in all obedience and temptations by the ſame.

1 Peter i. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

XXVII.

All believers are by Chriſt united to God; by which union, God is one withthem, and they are one with him; and that all believers

1 Theſſ. i. 1. John xvii. 21; and xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

are the ſons of God, and joint heirs with Chriſt, to whom belong all the promiſes of this life, and that which is to come.

XXVIII.

Thoſe that have union with Chriſt, are juſtified from all their ſins by the blood of Chriſt, which juſtification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty ſinner from all ſin, by God, through the ſatisfaction that Chriſt hath made by his death for all their ſins, and this applied (in the manifeſtation of it) through faith.

1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 14; and ix. 26. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. iii. 23, 25, 30; and v. 1. Acts xiii. 38, 39.

XXIX.

All believers are a holy and ſanctified people, and that ſanctification is a ſpiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifeſted in the ſoul, whereby the believer preſſeth after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands which Chriſt, as head and king in his new covenant, hath preſcribed to them.

1 Cor. xii. 1 Peter ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20.

XXX.

All believers, through the knowledge of that juſtification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Chriſt, have, as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation, whereby they that were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace paſſing all underſtanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have received the atonement.

2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 9, 10. Iſa. xx; and liv. 10. Eph. ii. 13, 14; and iv. 7. Rom. v. 10, 11.

XXXI.

All believers, in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat againſt ſin, ſelf, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of afflictions, tribulations, and perſecutions, being predeſtinated and appointed thereunto; and whatſoever the ſaints poſſeſs or enjoy of God ſpiritually, is by faith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith.

Rom. vii. 23, 24; and viii. 29. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 12. 1 Theſſ. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Deut. ii. 5.

XXXII.

The only ſtrength by which the ſaints are enabled to encounter with all oppoſitions and trials, is only by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the captain of their ſalvation, being made perfect through ſufferings; who hath engaged his faithfulneſs and ſtrength to aſſiſt them in all their afflictions,

afflictions, and to uphold them in all their temptations, and to preſerve them by his power to his everlaſting kingdom.

John xv. 5; and xvi. 33. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

XXXIII.

Jeſus Chriſt hath here on earth a ſpiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchaſed and redeemed to himſelf as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of viſible ſaints, called and ſeparated from the world by the word and ſpirit of God, to the viſible profeſſion of the faith of the goſpel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Chriſt their head and king.

Matt. xi, 11; xviii. 19, 20. 2 Theſſ. i. 1. 1 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 1. Rom. i. 7. Acts xix. 8, 9; and xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Rev. xviii. 4. Acts ii. 37, 42; ix. 26; and x. 37. Rom. x. 10. 1 Peter ii. 5.

XXXIV.

To this church he hath made his promiſes, and giveth the ſigns of his covenant, preſence, acceptation, love, bleſſing, and protection. Here are the fountains and ſprings of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refreſh and ſtrengthen them.

Matt. xxviii. 18, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 21; and xi. 24. 2 Cor. vi. 18. Rom. ix. 4, 5. Pſalm cxxxiii. 3. Rom. iii. 7, 10. Ezek. xlvii. 2.

XXXV.

And all his ſervants of all eſtates (are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, prieſt, and king;) and called thither to be enrolled among his houſhold ſervants, to preſent their bodies and ſouls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled ſheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his ſaints, that they may be aſſured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God; and to ſupply each other's wants, inward and outward; (and although each perſon hath a property in his own eſtate, yet they are to ſupply each other's wants, according as their neceſſities ſhall require, that the name of Jeſus Chriſt may not be blaſphemed through the neceſſity of any in the church) and alſo being come, they are here by himſelf to be beſtowed in their ſeveral order, due place, peculiar uſe, being fitly compact and knit together, according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of itſelf in love.

Acts ii. 41, 44, 45, 47. Iſa. iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 6, 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 37, 40. Cant. iv. 12. Eph. ii. 19. Rom. xii. 4, 5, 6. Col. i. 12; and ii. 5, 6, 19. Acts iv. 34, 35; v. 4; and xx. 32. Luke xiv. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 1. Eph. iv. 16.

XXXVI. Being

XXXVI.

Being thus joined, every church hath power given them from Chriſt, for their well-being, to chooſe among themſelves meet perſons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as thoſe which Chriſt hath appointed in his teſtament, for the feeding, governing, ſerving, and building up of his church: and that none have any power to impoſe on them either theſe or any other.

Acts i. 23, 26; vi. 3; and xv. 22, 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 28. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, 3; and iv. 15.

XXXVII.

That the miniſters lawfully called, as aforeſaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.

Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. 1 Peter v. 1, 2, 3.

XXXVIII.

The miniſters of Chriſt ought to have whatſoever they ſhall need, ſupplied freely by the church, that, according to Chriſt's ordinances, they that preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the goſpel by the law of Chriſt.

1 Cor. ix 7, 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Pſalm cx. 3.

XXXIX

Baptiſm is an ordinance of the New Teſtament, given by Chriſt, to be diſpenſed upon perſons profeſſing faith, or that are made diſciples; who, upon profeſſion of faith, ought to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's Supper.

Matt. xxviii. 18; 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38; and viii. 36, 37, *&c.*

XL.

That the way and manner of the diſpenſing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a ſign, muſt anſwer the things ſignified, which is, that intereſt the ſaints have in the death, burial and reſurrection of Chriſt: and that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and riſen again; ſo certainly ſhall the bodies of the ſaints be raiſed by the power of Chriſt, in the day of the reſurrection, to reign with Chriſt.

Matt. iii. 6, 16. Mark xv. 9, *reads* [*into* Jordan] *in* Greek. John iii. 23. Acts viii. 38. Rev. i. 5; and vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

The word baptizo *ſignifies to dip or plunge (yet ſo as convenient garments be both upon the adminiſtrator and ſubject with all modeſty.)*

XLI. The

XLI.

The perſon deſigned by Chriſt to diſpenſe baptiſm, the ſcripture holds forth to be a diſciple; it being no where tied to a particular church officer, or perſon extraordinarily ſent, the commiſſion enjoining the adminiſtration, being given to them as conſidered diſciples, being men able to preach the goſpel.

Iſa. viii. 16. Eph. ii. 7. Matt. xxviii. 19. John iv. 2. Acts xx. 7; and xi. 10. 1 Cor. xi. 2; and x. 16, 17. Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17.

XLII.

Chriſt hath likewiſe given power to his church to receive in, and caſt out, any member that deſerves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular perſon, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowſhip.

Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 11, 13; xii. 6; and ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

XLIII.

And every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned ſoever, is ſubject to this cenſure and judgment; and that the church ought not without great care and tenderneſs, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed againſt her members.

Matt. xviii. 16; and xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1, 2, 3.

XLIV.

Chriſt, for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth ſome ſpecial men over the church; who, by their office, are to govern, overſee, viſit, watch; ſo likewiſe for the better keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another.

Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17, 24. Matt. xxiv. 45. 1 Theſſ. v. 2, 14. Jude 3, 20. Heb. x. 34, 35; and xii. 15.

XLV.

Alſo ſuch to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to propheſy, according to the proportion of faith, and ſo to teach publickly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the church.

1 Cor. xiv. 3, &c. Rom. xii. 6. 1 Peter iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Theſſ. v. 19, &c.

XLVI.

Thus being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the goſpel of Chriſt, none are to ſeparate for faults and corruptions (for

(for as long as the church conſiſts of men ſubject to failings, there will be difference in the true conſtituted church) until they have in due order, and tenderneſs, ſought redreſs thereof.

Rev. ii. and iii. Acts xv. 12. 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb. x. 25. Jude 19. Rev. ii. 20, 21, 27. Acts xv. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 1; and xv. 1, 2, 3.

XLVII.

And although the particular congregations be diſtinct, and ſeveral bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within itſelf: yet are they are all to walk by one rule of truth: ſo alſo they (by all means convenient) are to have the counſel and help one of another, if neceſſity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Chriſt their head.

1 Cor. iv. 17; xiv. 33, 36; and xvi. 1. Pſalm cxxii. 3. Eph. ii. 12, 19. Rev. xxi. 1 Tim. iii. 15; vi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. iv. 17. Acts xv. 2, 3. Cant. viii. 8, 9. 2 Cor. viii. 1, 4; and xiii. 14.

XLVIII.

A civil magiſtracy is an ordinance of God, ſet up by him for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, ſubjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conſcience-ſake; and that we are to make ſupplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlineſs and honeſty.

Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Peter ii. 13, 14. 1 Tim. ii, 1, 2, 3.

The ſupreme magiſtracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now eſtabliſhed) freely choſen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulneſs, that God hath made this preſent king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, becauſe of their tyranny and oppreſſion over us, under which this kingdom long groaned, for which we are ever engaged to bleſs God, and honour them for the ſame. And concerning the worſhip of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to ſave and deſtroy, James iv. 12, *which is Jeſus Chriſt, who hath given laws and rules ſufficient in his word for his worſhip; and for any to make more, were to charge Chriſt with want of wiſdom, or faithfulneſs, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough for his houſe: ſurely it is our wiſdom, duty, and privilege, to obſerve Chriſt's laws only,* Pſalm ii. 6, 9, 10, 12. *So it is the magiſtrates' duty to tender the liberty of men's conſciences,* Eccleſ. viii. 8. *(which is the tendereſt thing to all conſcientious men, and moſt dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much leſs enjoying) and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppreſſion and moleſtation; ſo it is our duty not to be wanting in any thing which is for their honour and comfort, and whatſoever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to be*

be our expreſs duty, eſpecially in matters of religion, to be fully perſuaded in our minds of the lawfulneſs of what we do, as knowing whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our underſtandings and conſciences, ſo neither can we forbear the doing of that which our underſtandings and conſciences bind us to do. And if the magiſtrates ſhould require us to do otherwiſe, we are to yield our perſons in a paſſive way to their power, as the ſaints of old have done, James v. 4. *And thrice happy ſhall he be, that ſhall loſe his life for witneſſing (though but for the leaſt tittle) of the truth of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* 1 Peter v. Gal. v.

XLIX.

But in caſe we find not the magiſtrate to favour us herein; yet we dare not ſuſpend our practice, becauſe we believe we ought to go in obedience to Chriſt, in profeſſing the faith which was once delivered to the ſaints, which faith is declared in the holy ſcriptures, and this our confeſſion of faith a part of them, and that we are to witneſs to the truth of the Old and New Teſtament unto the death, if neceſſity require, in the midſt of all trials and afflictions, as his ſaints of old have done; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, ſiſters; yea, and our own lives dear to us, ſo we may finiſh our courſe with joy; remembering always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will, when we have finiſhed our courſe, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteouſneſs; to whom we muſt give an account of all our actions, and no man being able to diſcharge us of the ſame.

Acts ii. 40, 41; iv. 19; v. 28, 29; and xx. 23. 1 Theſſ. iii. 3. Phil. i. 28, 29. Dan. iii. 16, 17; and vi. 7, 10, 22, 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Rom. xii. 1, 8. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. Rev. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. Rom. xiv. 10, 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Pſalm xlix. 7; and l. 22.

L.

It is lawful for a chriſtian to be a magiſtrate or civil officer; and alſo it is lawful to take an oath, ſo it be in truth, and in judgment, and in righteouſneſs, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all ſtrife; and that by raſh and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns.

Acts viii. 38; and x. 1, 2, 35. Rom. xvi. 23. Deut. vi. 13. Rom. i. 9. 2 Cor. x. 11. Jer. iv. 2. Heb. vi. 16.

LI.

We are to give unto all men whatſoever is their due, as their place, age, eſtate, requires; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men as we would they ſhould do unto us.

1 Theſſ. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7. Matt. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Peter ii. 15, 17; and v. 5. Eph. v. 21, 23; and vi. 1, 9. Titus iii. 1, 2, 3.

LII. There

LII.

There ſhall be a reſurrection of the dead, both of the juſt and unjuſt, and every one ſhall give an account of himſelf to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS we deſire to give unto Chriſt that which is his; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due; and to owe nothing to any man but love; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh ſaints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conſcience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment ſoever) as we would they ſhould do unto us, that as our practice is, ſo it may prove us to be a conſcionable, quiet, and harmleſs people, (no ways dangerous or troubleſome to human ſociety) and to labour and work with our hands that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Alſo we confeſs, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we deſire and ſeek to know; and if any ſhall do us that friendly part to ſhew us from the word of God that we ſee not, we ſhall have cauſe to be thankful to God and them; but if any man ſhall impoſe upon us any thing that we ſee not to be commanded by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhould in his ſtrength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be ſtripped of all outward comforts, and if it were poſſible, to die a thouſand deaths, rather than to do any thing againſt the leaſt tittle of the truth of God, or againſt the light of our own conſciences. And if any ſhall call what we have ſaid hereſy, then do we with the Apoſtle acknowledge, that after the way they call hereſy, worſhip we the God of our fathers, diſclaiming all hereſies (rightly ſo called) becauſe they are againſt Chriſt, and to be ſtedfaſt and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Chriſt, as knowing our labour ſhall not be in vain in the Lord.

Pſalm lxxiv. 21, 22.

ARISE, O God, plead thine own cauſe; remember how the fooliſh man blaſphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppreſſed return aſhamed, but let the poor and needy praiſe thy name.

Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly.

No. XI.

A concise View of the chief Principles of the Christian Religion, as professed by the People called QUAKERS.

BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

SEEING the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, (*This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent..**) the true and right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge, is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

Concerning immediate Revelation.

SEEING *no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him*;† and seeing *the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit*; therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be, only revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he converted the *chaos* of this world into that wonderful order wherein it was in the beginning, and created man a living soul, to rule and govern it, so by the revelation of the same spirit he hath manifested himself all along unto the sons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward *objective manifestations in the heart*, were of old the *formal object* of their faith, and remain yet so to be; *since the object of the Saints faith is the same in all ages*, though set forth under divers administrations. Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can contradict the outward testimony of the scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of the scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed

* John xvii. 3. † Matt. xi. 27.

understanding

underſtanding to aſſent, irriſiſtibly moving the ſame thereunto; even as the common principles of natural *truths* move and incline the mind to a natural aſſent; as that *the whole is greater than its parts*; that *two contradictory ſayings cannot be both true, nor both falſe:* which is alſo manifeſt according to our adverſaries' principle; who (ſuppoſing the poſſibility of inward divine revelations) will nevertheleſs confeſs with us, that neither ſcripture nor ſound reaſon will contradict it: and yet it will not follow, according to them, that the ſcripture, or ſound reaſon, ſhould be ſubjected to the examination of the divine revelations in the heart.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Scriptures.

FROM theſe revelations of the Spirit of God to the ſaints, have proceeded the ſcriptures of truth, which contain, 1. A faithful hiſtorical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages, with many ſingular and remarkable providences attending them. 2. A prophetical account of ſeveral things, whereof ſome are already paſt, and ſome yet to come. 3. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Chriſt, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and ſentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at ſeveral times, and upon ſundry occaſions, ſpoken and written unto ſome churches and their paſtors: nevertheleſs, becauſe they are only a *declaration* of the FOUNTAIN, and not the FOUNTAIN ITSELF, therefore they are not to be eſteemed the *principal* ground of all truth and knowlege, nor yet the *adequate primary* rule of *faith and manners*. Nevertheleſs, as that which giveth a true and faithful teſtimony of the Firſt Foundation, they are and may be eſteemed a *ſecondary* RULE, *ſubordinate to the* SPIRIT, from which they have all their excellency and certainty: for as by the inward teſtimony of the Spirit we do alone *truly* know them, ſo they teſtify, that the SPIRIT is that guide by which the ſaints are led into *all truth*;* therefore, according to the ſcriptures, the *Spirit* is the firſt and principal leader. And ſeeing we do therefore receive and believe the ſcriptures, becauſe they *proceeded* from the Spirit; therefore alſo the SPIRIT is more originally and principally the rule, according to that received maxim in the ſchools, *propter quod unumquodque eſt tale, illud ipſum eſt magis tale.* Engliſhed thus: *that for which a thing is ſuch, that thing itſelf is more ſuch.*

THE FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Condition of MAN *in the* FALL.

ALL *Adam*'s poſterity (or mankind†) both Jews and Gentiles, as to the firſt *Adam* or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead,

* John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 14. † Rom. v. 12, 15.

deprived

deprived of the ſenſation or feeling of this inward teſtimony or *Seed of God*; and is ſubject unto the power, nature, and ſeed of the ſerpent, which he ſows in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted ſtate; from whence it comes, that not their words and deeds only, but all their imaginations are evil perpetually in the ſight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked ſeed. Man, therefore, as he is in this ſtate, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things ſpiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil ſeed, and united to the *Divine Light*, are unprofitable both to himſelf and others. Hence are rejected the *Socinian* and *Pelagian* errors, in exalting a natural light; as alſo thoſe of the *papiſts*, and moſt *proteſtants*, who affirm, *that man, without the true grace of God, may be a true miniſter of the Goſpel.* Nevertheleſs, this ſeed is not imputed to infants, until by tranſgreſſion they actually join themſelves therewith; for "they are by nature the children of "wrath, who walk according to the power of the prince of the air."*

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Univerſal Redemption by Chriſt, and alſo the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every Man is enlightened.

THE FIFTH PROPOSITION.

GOD, out of his infinite love, *who delighteth not in the death of a ſinner, but that all ſhould live and be ſaved, hath ſo loved the world, that he hath given his only Son a Light, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould be ſaved; who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and maketh manifeſt all things that are reproveable, and teacheth all temperance, righteouſneſs, and godlineſs:*† and this Light enlighteneth the hearts of all in a day,‡ in order to ſalvation, if not reſiſted. Nor is it leſs univerſal than the ſeed of ſin, being the purchaſe of his death, who *taſted death for every man:* for *as in* Adam *all die, even ſo in* Chriſt *ſhall all be made alive.*§

THE SIXTH PROPOSITION.

ACCORDING to which principle, or hypotheſis, all the objections againſt the Univerſality of Chriſt's death are eaſily ſolved; neither is it needful to recur to the miniſtry of angels, and thoſe other miraculous means, which, they ſay, God makes uſe of to manifeſt the doctrine and hiſtory of Chriſt's paſſion unto ſuch who (living in thoſe places of the world where the outward preaching of the goſpel is unknown) have well improved the firſt and common Grace: for hence it well follows, that as ſome of the old philoſophers might have been

* Eph. ii. 1. † Ezek. xviii. 23. Iſa. xlix. 6. John iii. 16, and i. 9. Titus ii. 11. Eph. v. 13. Heb. ii. 9.

‡ *Pro tempore*, for a time. § 1 Cor. xv. 22.

ſaved,

ſaved, ſo alſo may now ſome (who by Providence are caſt into thoſe remote parts of the world, where the knowledge of the Hiſtory is wanting) be made partakers of the divine Mercy, if they receive and reſiſt not that Grace, *a manifeſtation whereof is given to every man to profit withal.*‖ This certain doctrine then being received, *to wit*, that there is an evangelical and ſaving Light and Grace in All, the univerſality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind (both in the death of his beloved Son, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and in the manifeſtation of the Light in the heart) is eſtabliſhed and confirmed, againſt all the objections of ſuch as deny it. Therefore *Chriſt hath taſted death for* every *man*;* not only *for all kinds of men*, as ſome vainly talk, but *for every one*, *of all kinds*; the benefit of whoſe offering is not only extended to ſuch who have the diſtinct outward knowledge of his death and ſufferings, as the ſame is declared in the ſcriptures, but even unto thoſe who are neceſſarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by ſome inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confeſs to be very profitable and comfortable, but not abſolutely needful unto ſuch, from whom God himſelf hath withheld it; yet they may be made partakers of the myſtery of his death (though ignorant of the hiſtory) if they ſuffer his Seed and Light, enlightening their hearts, to take place (in which Light, communion with the Father and Son is enjoyed) ſo as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whoſe inward and ſecret touches they feel themſelves turned from the evil to the good, and learn *to do to others as they would be done by*; in which Chriſt himſelf affirms all to be included. As they then have falſly and erroneouſly taught, who have denied Chriſt to have died for all men; ſo neither have they ſufficiently taught the truth, who affirming him to have died for all, have added the abſolute neceſſity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to the obtaining its ſaving effect; among whom the *Remonſtrants* of *Holland* have been chiefly wanting, and many other aſſertors of *Univerſal Redemption*, in that they have not placed the extent of this ſalvation in that divine and evangelical principle of Light and Life, wherewith Chriſt hath enlightened every man that comes into the world; which is excellently and evidently held forth in theſe ſcriptures: *Gen.* vi. 3. *Deut.* xxx. 14. *John* i. 7, 8, 9. *Rom.* x. 8. *Tit.* ii. 11.

THE SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Juſtification.

AS many as reſiſt not this Light, but receive the ſame, in them is produced an holy, pure, and ſpiritual birth, bringing forth holineſs, righteouſneſs, purity, and all thoſe other bleſſed fruits which are acceptable to God, by which holy birth, (to wit, *Jeſus Chriſt* formed within us, and working his works within us) as we are ſanctified, ſo are we juſtified in the ſight of God, according to the apoſtle's words:

‖ 1 Cor xii. 7. * Heb. ii. 9.

but

But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.† Therefore it is not by our works wrought in our will, nor yet by good works, considered as of themselves, but by CHRIST, who is both the gift and the giver, and the cause producing the effects in us: who, as he hath reconciled us while we were enemies, doth also in his wisdom save us, and justify us after this manner, as saith the same apostle elsewhere. *According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.**

THE EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perfection.

IN whom this Holy and Pure Birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the Truth, so as not to obey any suggestion or temptation of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning, and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect.§ Yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord.

THE NINTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perseverance, and the possibility of falling from Grace.

ALTHOUGH this gift, and inward Grace of God, be sufficient to work out salvation; yet in those in whom it is resisted, it both may and doth become their condemnation. Moreover, in whom it hath wrought in part, to purify and sanctify them, in order to their further perfection, by disobedience such may fall from it, and turn it to wantonness, making shipwreck of faith; and *after having tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, again fall away.*‡ Yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there cannot be a total apostacy.

THE TENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Ministry.

AS by this Gift, or Light of God, all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed; so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the ministry: and by the leading, moving, and drawing hereof, ought every evangelist and christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when he is to minister. More-

† 1 Cor. vi. 11. * Tit. iii. 5.
§ Rom. vi. 2, 14, 18, and viii. 13. 1 John iii. 6.
‡ 1 Tim. i. 6. Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6.

over, thoſe who have this authority may and ought to preach the goſpel, though without human commiſſion or literature; as, on the other hand, thoſe who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commiſſions of men and churches, are to be eſteemed but as deceivers, and not true *miniſters of the goſpel.* Alſo, who have received this holy and unſpotted gift, *as they have freely received, ſo are they freely to give,** without hire or bargaining, far leſs to uſe it as a trade to get money by it: yet if God hath called any from their employments, or trades, by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for ſuch (according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord) to receive ſuch temporals (to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing) as are freely given them by thoſe to whom they have communicated ſpirituals.

THE ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Worſhip.

ALL true and acceptable worſhip to God is offered in the *inward* and *immediate* moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, or perſons: for though we be to worſhip him always, in that we are to fear before him; yet as to the outward ſignification thereof in prayers, praiſes, and preachings, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the ſecret inſpirations of his Spirit in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is, of which he himſelf is the alone proper judge. All other worſhip then, both praiſes, prayers, and preachings, which man ſets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleaſure, do or leave undone as himſelf ſees meet; whether they be a proſcribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural ſtrength and faculty of the mind; they are all but ſuperſtitions, will-worſhip, and abominable idolatry in the ſight of God;† which are to be denied, rejected, and ſeparated from, in this day of his ſpiritual ariſing; however it might have pleaſed him (who winked at the times of ignorance, with reſpect to the ſimplicity and integrity of ſome, and of his own innocent ſeed, which lay as it were buried in the hearts of men, under the maſs of ſuperſtition) to blow upon the dead and dry bones, and to raiſe ſome breathings, and anſwer them, and that until the day ſhould more clearly dawn and break forth.

THE TWELFTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Baptiſm.

AS there is *One Lord* and *One Faith*, ſo there is *One Baptiſm; which is not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a*

* Matt. x. 8.——† Ezek. xiii. Mark x. 20. Acts ii. 4; and xviii. 5. John iii. 6; and iv. 21. Jude 19. Acts xvii. 23.

good

*good conſcience before God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt.** And this baptiſm is a pure and ſpiritual thing, to wit, the *baptiſm* of the *ſpirit* and *fire*, by which we are *buried with him*, that being waſhed and purged from our ſins, we may *walk in newneſs of life*;† of which the baptiſm of *John* was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptiſm of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the ſcripture.

THE THIRTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

THE *communion* of the body and blood of Chriſt is *inward* and *ſpiritual*,‡ which is the participation of his fleſh and blood,§ by which the *inward man* is daily nouriſhed in the hearts of thoſe in whom Chriſt dwells; of which things the *breaking of bread* by Chriſt with his diſciples was a *figure*, which they even uſed in the church for a time, who had received the ſubſtance, for the cauſe of the weak; even as *abſtaining from things ſtrangled, and from blood*, the *waſhing one another's feet*, and the *anointing of the ſick with oil*;‖ all which are commanded with no leſs authority and ſolemnity than the former; yet ſeeing they are but the *ſhadows* of better things, they ceaſe in ſuch as have obtained the *ſubſtance*.

THE FOURTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate, in Matters purely Religious, and pertaining to the Conſcience.

SINCE God hath aſſumed to himſelf the power and dominion of the conſcience, who alone can rightly inſtruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatſoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the conſciences of others;¶ and therefore all killing, baniſhing, fining, impriſoning, and other ſuch things, which men are afflicted with, for the alone exerciſe of their conſcience, or difference in worſhip of opinion, proceedeth from the ſpirit of *Cain* the murderer, and is contrary to the truth: provided always, that no man, under the pretence of conſcience, prejudice his neighbour in his life or eſtate; or do any thing deſtructive to, or inconſiſtent with, human ſociety; in which caſe the law is for the tranſgreſſor, and juſtice to be adminiſtered upon all, without reſpect of perſons.

* Eph. iv. 5. 1 Peter iii. 21. Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30.——† 1 Cor. i. 17.——‡ 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.——§ John vi. 32, 33, 35. 1 Cor. v. 8.——‖ Acts xv. 20. John xiii. 14. James v. 14. ——¶ Luke ix. 55, 56. Matt. vii. 12, 29. Titus iii. 10.

THE FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Salutations and Recreations, &c.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the ſpirit and vain converſation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God,* before whom if we fear always, we are accounted happy; therefore all the vain cuſtoms and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forſaken by thoſe who come to this fear; ſuch as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and ſuch other ſalutations of that kind, with all the fooliſh and ſuperſtitious formalities attending them; all which man has invented in his degenerate ſtate, to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world; as alſo the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, ſportings and gamings, which are invented to paſs away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witneſs of God in the heart, and from the living ſenſe of his fear, and from that evangelical ſpirit wherewith chriſtians ought to be leavened, and which leads into ſobriety, gravity, and godly fear; in which as we abide, the bleſſing of the Lord is felt to attend us in thoſe actions in which we are neceſſarily engaged, in order to the taking care for the ſuſtenance of the outward man.

* Eph. v. 11. 1 Peter i. 14. John v. 44. Jer. x. 3. Acts x. 26. Matt. xv. 13. Col. ii. 8.

No. XII.

The TOLERATION ACT, intitled, *an Act for exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws.*

FORASMUCH as ſome eaſe to ſcrupulous conſciences, in the exerciſe of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their Majeſties' proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection,*

I. Be it enacted by the king and queen's moſt excellent majeſties, and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that neither the ſtatute made in the 23d year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*,† intitled, *an act to retain the queen majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience*; nor that ſtatute made in the 29th year of the ſaid queen,‡ intitled, *an act for the more ſpeedy*

* 1 Will. and Mary, cap. 18. † 23 Eliz. cap. 1. ‡ 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

and

and due execution of certain branches of the ſtatute made in the 23d year of the queen's majeſty's reign, viz. the aforeſaid act; nor that branch or clauſe of a ſtatute made in the firſt year of the reign of the ſaid queen, intitled, *an act for the uniformity of common-prayer and ſervice in the church and adminiſtration of the ſacraments*;* whereby all perſons, having no lawful or reaſonable excuſe to be abſent, are required to reſort to their pariſh church or chapel, or ſome uſual place where the common-prayer ſhall be uſed, upon pain of puniſhment by the cenſures of the church; and alſo, upon pain that every perſon ſo offending ſhall forfeit for every ſuch offence twelve-pence. Nor that ſtatute made in the 3d year of the late king *James* the firſt,† intitled, *an act for the better diſcovering and repreſſing popiſh recuſants*. Nor that after ſtatute made in the ſame year,‡ intitled, *an act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by popiſh recuſants*. Nor any other law or ſtatute of this realm made againſt papiſts or popiſh recuſants, except the ſtatute made in the 25th year of king *Charles* II.§ intitled, *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants*. And except alſo the ſtatute made in the 30th year of the ſaid king *Charles* II.‖ intitled, *an act for the more effectual preſerving the king's perſon and government, by diſabling papiſts from ſitting in either houſe of parliament*, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to any perſon or perſons diſſenting from the church of England, that ſhall take the oaths mentioned in a ſtatute made this preſent parliament, intitled, *an act for removing and preventing all queſtions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and ſitting of the preſent parliament*, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the declaration mentioned in a ſtatute made in the 30th year of the reign of king *Charles* II.¶ intitled, *an act to prevent papiſts from ſitting in either houſe of parliament*. Which oaths and declaration the juſtices of peace at the general ſeſſions of the peace to be held for the county or place where ſuch perſon ſhall live, are hereby required to tender and adminiſter to ſuch perſons as ſhall offer themſelves to take, make and ſubſcribe the ſame, and thereof to keep a regiſter. And likewiſe none of the perſons aforeſaid ſhall give or pay, as any fee or reward, to any officer or officers belonging to the court aforeſaid, above the ſum of ſix-pence, nor that more than once, for his or their entry of his taking the ſaid oaths, and making and ſubſcribing the ſaid declaration; nor above the further ſum of ſix-pence for any certificate of the ſame, to be made out and ſigned by the officer or officers of the ſaid court.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every perſon and perſons already convicted, or proſecuted in order to conviction, of recuſancy, by indictment, information, action of debt, or otherwiſe grounded upon the aforeſaid ſtatutes, or any of them, that ſhall take the ſaid oaths mentioned in the ſaid ſtatutes

* 29 Eliz. cap. 2. §. 14. † 3 Jac. I. cap. 4. ‡ 3 Jac. I. cap. 5.
§ 25 Car. II. cap. 2. ‖ 30 Car. II. ſtat. 2d. cap. 1. ¶ Id.

made

made this preſent parliament, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, in the court of Exchequer, or aſſize, or general or quarter-ſeſſions, to be held for the county where ſuch perſon lives, and to be thence reſpectively certified into the Exchequer; ſhall be thenceforth exempted and diſcharged from all the penalties, ſeizures, forfeitures, judgments, and executions, incurred by force of any of the aforeſaid ſtatutes, without any compoſition, fee, or further charge whatſoever.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every perſon and perſons that ſhall, as aforeſaid, take the ſaid oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, ſhall not be liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures, mentioned in an act made in the 35th year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*,* intitled, *an act to retain the queen majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience.* Nor in an act made in the 22d year of the reign of the late king *Charles* II.† intitled, *an act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles.* Nor ſhall any of the ſaid perſons be proſecuted in any eccleſiaſtical court, for or by reaſon of their non-conforming to the church of England.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any aſſembly of perſons, diſſenting from the church of England, ſhall be held in any place for religious worſhip, with the doors locked, barred, or bolted, during any time of ſuch meeting together, all and every perſon or perſons that ſhall come to, and be at ſuch meeting, ſhall not receive any benefit from this law, but be liable to all the pains and penalties of all the aforeſaid laws recited in this act, for ſuch their meeting, notwithſtanding his taking the oaths, and his making and ſubſcribing the declaration aforeſaid.

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to exempt any of the perſons aforeſaid from paying of tithes, or other parochial duties, or any other duties to the church or miniſter; nor from any proſecution in any eccleſiaſtical court, or elſewhere, for the ſame.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon diſſenting from the church of England, as aforeſaid, ſhall hereafter be choſen, or otherwiſe appointed to bear the office of high-conſtable, or petit-conſtable, churchwarden, overſeer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, and ſuch perſon ſhall ſcruple to take upon him any of the ſaid offices, in regard of the oaths, or any other matter or thing required by the law to be taken or done, in reſpect of ſuch office, every ſuch perſon ſhall and may execute ſuch office or employment by a ſufficient deputy, by him to be provided, that ſhall comply with the laws on this behalf; provided always, the

* 35 Eliz. cap. 1. † 22 Car. II. cap. 1.

ſaid

ſaid deputy be allowed and approved by ſuch perſon or perſons, in ſuch manner, as ſuch officer or officers reſpectively ſhould by law have been allowed and approved.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon diſſenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation of diſſenting proteſtants, that ſhall make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid,* and take the ſaid oaths, at the general or quarter-ſeſſions of the peace to be held for the county, town, parts, or diviſion where ſuch perſon lives, which court is hereby impowered to adminiſter the ſame; and ſhall alſo declare his approbation of, and ſubſcribe the articles of religion mentioned in the ſtatute made in the 13th year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*,‡ except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and theſe words of the 20th article, *viz.* [*the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith, and yet*,] ſhall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the 17th year of the reign of king *Charles* II.§ intitled, *an act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting in corporations*; nor the penalties mentioned in the aforeſaid act made in the 22d year of his ſaid late majeſty's reign, for or by reaſon of ſuch perſons preaching at auy meeting for the exerciſe of religion. Nor to the penalties of 100l. mentioned in an act made in the 13th and 14th of king *Charles* II.‖ intitled, *an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and adminiſtring of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies*; *and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of England*, for officiating in any congregation for the exerciſe of religion permitted and allowed by this act.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and ſubſcribing the ſaid declaration, and the taking the ſaid oaths, and making the declaration of approbation and ſubſcription to the ſaid articles, in manner as aforeſaid, by every reſpective perſon or perſons herein before-mentioned, at ſuch general or quarter-ſeſſions of the peace as aforeſaid, ſhall be then and there entered of record in the ſaid court, for which ſixpence ſhall be paid to the clerk of the peace, and no more; provided that ſuch perſon ſhall not at any time preach in any place but with the doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforeſaid.

IX. And whereas ſome diſſenting proteſtants ſcruple the baptizing of infants, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher, or teacher, that ſhall ſubſcribe the aforeſaid articles of religion, except as before excepted: and alſo except part of the 27th article teaching infant-baptiſm, and ſhall take the oaths, and make and ſub-

* 17 Car. II. cap. 2, 13 and 14. Car. II. cap. 4. ‡ 13 Eliz. cap. 12.
§ 17 Car. II. cap. 2. ‖ 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

ſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, in manner aforeſaid; every ſuch perſon ſhall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages, which any other diſſenting miniſter, as aforeſaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this act.

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every teacher or preacher in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is a miniſter, preacher, or teacher of a congregation, that ſhall take the oaths herein required, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid; and alſo ſubſcribe ſuch of the aforeſaid articles of the church of England, as are required by this act in manner aforeſaid, ſhall be thenceforth exempted from ſerving upon any jury, or from being choſen, or appointed to bear the office of churchwarden, overſeer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, or other office in any hundred, or any ſhire, city, town, pariſh, diviſion, or wapentake.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that any juſtice of the peace may at any time hereafter require any perſon that goes to any meeting for exerciſe of religion, to make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, and alſo to take the ſaid oaths, or declaration of fidelity herein after mentioned, in caſe ſuch perſon ſcruple the taking of an oath; and upon the refuſal thereof, ſuch juſtice of the peace is hereby required to commit ſuch perſon to priſon, without bail or mainprize, and to certify the name of ſuch perſon to the next general or quarter-ſeſſions of the peace to be held for that county, city, town, part, or diviſion, where ſuch perſon then reſides; and if ſuch perſon ſo committed ſhall, upon a ſecond tender at the general or quarter-ſeſſions, refuſe to make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, ſuch perſon refuſing ſhall be then and there recorded, and ſhall be taken thenceforth to all intents and purpoſes for a popiſh recuſant convict, and ſuffer accordingly, and incur all the penalties and forfeitures of the aforeſaid laws.

XII. And whereas there are certain other perſons, diſſenters from the church of England, who ſcruple the taking of any oath, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every ſuch perſon ſhall make and ſubſcribe the aforeſaid declaration; and alſo this declaration of fidelity following:*

I A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe, and ſolemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king* William *and queen* Mary. *And I ſolemnly profeſs and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine, and poſition, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any power, juriſdiction, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical, or ſpiritual, within this realm.*

* 8 Geo. I. cap. 6.

And

And ſhall ſubſcribe a profeſſion of their chriſtain belief in theſe words:

I A. B. *profeſs Faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God bleſſed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the* Old *and* New Teſtament *to be given by divine inſpiration.*

Which declaration and ſubſcription ſhall be made and entered of record at the general quarter-ſeſſions of the peace for the county, city, or place, where every ſuch perſon ſhall then reſide. And every ſuch perſon that ſhall make and ſubſcribe the two declarations and profeſſion aforeſaid, being thereunto required, ſhall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the afore-mentioned ſtatutes made againſt popiſh recuſants, or proteſtant non-conformiſts; and alſo from the penalties of an act made in the 5th year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*,* intitled, *an act for the aſſurance of the queen's royal power over all eſtates and ſubjects within her dominions*, for or by reaſon of ſuch perſons not taking or refuſing to take the oath mentioned in the ſaid act. And alſo from the penalties of an act made in the 13th and 14th years of the reign of king *Charles* II.† intitled, *an act for preventing miſchiefs that may ariſe by certain perſons called* quakers *refuſing to take lawful oaths*, and enjoy all other the benefits, privileges, and advantages, under the like limitations, proviſoes, and conditions, which any other diſſenters ſhould or ought to enjoy by virtue of this act.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that in caſe any perſon ſhall refuſe to take the ſaid oaths when tendered to them, which every juſtice of the peace is hereby impowered to do, ſuch perſon ſhall not be admitted to make and ſubſcribe the two declarations aforeſaid, though required thereunto, either before any juſtice of the peace, or at the general or quarter-ſeſſions, before or after any conviction of popiſh recuſancy, as aforeſaid, unleſs ſuch perſon can, within thirty-one days after ſuch tender of the declaration to him, produce two ſufficient proteſtant witneſſes to teſtify upon oath, that they believe him to be a proteſtant diſſenter, or a certificate under the hands of four proteſtants who are conformable to the church of England, or have taken the oaths, and ſubſcribed the declaration above-named, and ſhall produce a certificate under the hands and ſeals of ſix or more ſufficient men of the congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them.

XIV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that until ſuch certificate, under the hands of ſix of his congregation, as aforeſaid, be produced, and two proteſtant witneſſes come to atteſt his being a proteſtant diſſenter, or a certificate under the hands of four proteſtants, as aforeſaid, be produced, the juſtice of peace ſhall, and hereby is required to take a recognizance, with two ſureties, in

* 5 Eliz. cap. 1. † 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 1. the

the penal ſum of fifty pounds, to be levied of his goods and chattels, lands and tenements, to the uſe of the king's and queen's majeſties, their heirs and ſucceſſors, for his producing the ſame; and if he cannot give ſuch ſecurity, to commit him to priſon, there to remain until he has produced ſuch certificate, or two witneſſes as aforeſaid.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that all the laws made and provided for the frequenting of divine ſervice on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, ſhall be ſtill in force, and executed againſt all perſons that offend againſt the ſaid laws, except ſuch perſons come to ſome congregation, or aſſembly of religious worſhip, allowed, or permitted by this act.

XVI. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that neither this act, nor any clauſe, article, or thing, herein contained, ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to give any eaſe, benefit, or advantage, to any papiſt or popiſh recuſant whatſoever, or any perſon that ſhall deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrine of the bleſſed trinity, as it is declared in the aforeſaid articles of religion.

XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or perſons, at any time or times after the 10th day of June, do, and ſhall willingly, and of purpoſe, maliciouſly, or contemptuouſly, come into any cathedral, or pariſh church, chapel, or other congregation, permitted by this act, and diſquiet or diſturb the ſame, or miſuſe any preacher or teacher; ſuch perſon or perſons, upon proof thereof, before any juſtice of the peace, by two or more ſufficient witneſſes, ſhall find two ſureties to be bound by recognizance in the penal ſum of fifty pounds, and in default of ſuch ſureties ſhall be committed to priſon, there to remain till the next general or quarter-ſeſſions, and upon conviction of the ſaid offence, at the ſaid general or quarter-ſeſſions, ſhall ſuffer the pain and penalty of twenty pounds, to the uſe of the king's and queen's majeſties, their heirs and ſucceſſors.*

XVIII. Provided always, that no congregation, or aſſembly for religious worſhip, ſhall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of ſuch meeting ſhall be certified to the biſhop of the dioceſe, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the juſtices of the peace, at the general or quarter-ſeſſions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which ſuch meeting ſhall be held, and regiſtered in the ſaid biſhop's or archdeacon's court reſpectively, or recorded at the ſaid general or quarter-ſeſſions, the regiſter or clerk of the peace whereof reſpectively is hereby required to regiſter the ſame, and to give certificate thereof to ſuch perſon as ſhall demand the ſame, for which there ſhall be no greater fee or reward taken than the ſum of ſix-pence.

* See Geo. I. ſtat. 2, cap. 5, § 4.

No. XIII.

The OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY ACT, intitled, *an Act for preſerving the Proteſtant Religion, by better ſecuring the Church of England, as by Law eſtabliſhed; and for confirming the Toleration granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters by an Act, intitled,* an Act for exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, diſſenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws, *and for ſupplying the defects thereof; and for the further ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by requiring the Practiſers of the Law in North-Britain to take the Oaths, and ſubſcribe the Declaration therein mentioned.*

WHEREAS an act was made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late king *Charles* the ſecond, intitled, *an act for the well-governing and regulating of corporations.** And another act was made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of the ſaid late king *Charles* the ſecond, intitled, *an act for the preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants.* Both which acts were made for the ſecurity of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed. Now for the better ſecuring the ſaid church, and quieting the minds of her Majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of England, and rendering them ſecure in the exerciſe of their religious worſhip; as alſo for the further ſtrengthening the proviſion already made for the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover; be it enacted by the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that if any perſon or perſons, after the five-and-twentieth day of March, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve, either peers or commoners, who have, or ſhall have any office or offices, civil or military, or receive any pay, ſalary, fee, or wages, by reaſon of any patent or grant from or under her Majeſty, or any of her Majeſty's predeceſſors, or of her heirs or ſucceſſors, or ſhall have any command or place of truſt from or under her Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, or from any of her Majeſty's predeceſſors, or by her or their authority, or by authority derived from her or them, within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or in the navy, or in the ſeveral iſlands of Jerſey or Guernſey, or ſhall be admitted into any ſervice or employment in the houſhold or family

* 10th of Queen Anne.

of

of her Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors; or if any mayor, alderman, recorder, bailiff, town-clerk, common-council-man, or other perſon bearing any office of magiſtracy, or place of truſt, or other employment relating to, or concerning the government of any of the reſpective cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque-ports, and their members, or other port towns within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, town of Berwick, or either of the iſles aforeſaid, who by the ſaid recited acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of England, as aforeſaid, ſhall, at any time after their admiſſion into their reſpective offices or employments, or after having ſuch patent or grant, command or place of truſt, as aforeſaid, during his or their continuance in ſuch office or offices, employment or employments, or having ſuch patent or grant, command or place of truſt, or any profit or advantage from the ſame, knowingly or willingly reſort to, or be preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the iſles aforeſaid, for the exerciſe of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within that part of Great-Britain called England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the iſles aforeſaid, at which conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, there ſhall be ten perſons or more aſſembled together, over and beſides thoſe of the ſame houſhold, if it be in any houſe where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in an houſe or place where there is no family inhabiting, then where any ſuch ten perſons are ſo aſſembled, as aforeſaid; or ſhall knowingly and willingly be preſent at any ſuch meeting, in ſuch houſe, or place, as aforeſaid, although the liturgy be there uſed, where her Majeſty, (whom God long preſerve) and the princeſs *Sophia*, or ſuch others as ſhall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, ſhall not there be prayed for in expreſs words according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where ſuch particular offices of the liturgy are uſed, wherein there are no expreſs directions to pray for her Majeſty and the royal family, ſhall forfeit forty pounds, to be recovered by him or them that ſhall ſue for the ſame, by any action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of her Majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, wherein no eſſoign, protection, or wager of law, ſhall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance.

And be it further enacted, that every perſon convicted in any action to be brought, as aforeſaid, or upon any information, preſentment, or indictment, in any of her Majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, or at the aſſizes, ſhall be diſabled from thenceforth to hold ſuch office or offices, employment or employments, or to receive any profit or advantage by reaſon of them, or of any grant, as aforeſaid, and ſhall be adjudged incapable to bear any office or employment whatſoever

ſoever within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the iſles of Jerſey or Guernſey.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or perſons who ſhall have been convicted as aforeſaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any office or employment, or to receive any profit or advantage by reaſon of them, or of any grant as aforeſaid, ſhall, after ſuch conviction, conform to the church of England, for the ſpace of one year, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, as aforeſaid, and receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of England, at leaſt three times in the year, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be capable of the grant of any the offices or employments aforeſaid.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that every ſuch perſon ſo convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner as aforeſaid, ſhall, at the next term after his admiſſion into any ſuch office or employment, make oath in writing, in ſome one of her Majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, in publick and open court, or at the next quarter-ſeſſion's for that county or place where he ſhall reſide, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, he hath conformed to the church of England for the ſpace of one year before ſuch his admiſſion, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly or meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he hath received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper at leaſt three times in the year; which oath ſhall be there enrolled and kept upon record.

Provided, that no perſon ſhall ſuffer any puniſhment for any offence committed againſt this act, unleſs oath be made of ſuch offence before ſome judge or juſtice of the peace, (who is hereby empowered and required to take the ſaid oath) within ten days after the ſaid offence committed, and unleſs the ſaid offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three months after the ſaid offence committed, nor ſhall any perſon be convicted for any ſuch offence, unleſs upon the oaths of two credible witneſſes at the leaſt.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, or any offence againſt the ſame, ſhall not extend or be judged to take away or make void any office of inheritance, nevertheleſs, ſo as ſuch perſon having or enjoying any ſuch office of inheritance, do or ſhall ſubſtitute and appoint his ſufficient deputy, (which ſuch officer is hereby empowered from time to time to make or change, any former law or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding) to exerciſe the ſaid office, until ſuch time as the perſon having ſuch office ſhall conform as aforeſaid.

And it is hereby further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters, by the act made in the firſt year of the reign of king *William* and queen *Mary*, intitled,

intitled, *an act for exempting their Majeſties proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws*, ſhall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the ſame act ſhall at all times be inviolably obſerved, for the exempting of ſuch proteſtant diſſenters as are thereby intended, from the pains and penalties therein mentioned.

And for rendering the ſaid laſt mentioned act more effectual, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon diſſenting from the church of England, (not in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation) who ſhould have been intitled to the benefit of the ſaid laſt-mentioned act, if ſuch perſon had duly taken, made, and ſubſcribed the oaths and declaration, or otherwiſe qualified him or herſelf, as required by the ſaid act, and now is or ſhall be proſecuted upon or by virtue of any of the penal ſtatutes, from which proteſtant diſſenters are exempted by the ſaid act, ſhall, at any time during ſuch proſecution, take, make, and ſubſcribe the ſaid oaths and declaration, or, being of the people called *quakers*, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the aforeſaid declaration, and alſo the declaration of fidelity, and ſubſcribe the profeſſion of their chriſtian belief according to the ſaid act, or before any two of her Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, (who are hereby required to take and return the ſame to the next quarter-ſeſſions of the peace, to be there recorded) ſuch perſon ſhall be, and is hereby intitled to the benefit of the ſaid act, as fully and effectually as if ſuch perſon had duly qualified himſelf within the time preſcribed by the ſaid act, and ſhall be thenceforth exempted and diſcharged from all the penalties and forfeitures incurred by force of any of the aforeſaid penal ſtatutes.

And whereas it is or may be doubted, whether a preacher or teacher of any congregation of diſſenting proteſtants, duly in all reſpects qualified according to the ſaid act, be allowed, by virtue of the ſaid act, to officiate in any congregation, in any county, other than that in which he ſo qualified himſelf, although in a congregation or place of meeting duly certified and regiſtered as is required by the ſaid act; be it declared and enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that any ſuch preacher or teacher, ſo duly qualified according to the ſaid act, ſhall be, and is hereby allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the ſame be not in the county wherein he was ſo qualified; provided that the ſaid congregation, or place of meeting, hath been, before ſuch officiating, duly certified and regiſtered or recorded according to the ſaid act: and ſuch preacher or teacher ſhall, if required, produce a certificate of his having ſo qualified himſelf, under the hand of the clerk of the peace for the county or place where he ſo qualified himſelf, which certificate ſuch clerk of the peace is hereby required to make; and ſhall alſo, before any juſtice of the peace of ſuch county or place

place where he ſhall ſo officiate, make and ſubſcribe ſuch declaration, and take ſuch oaths as are mentioned in the ſaid act, if thereunto required.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that on or before the fifteenth day of June next, all advocates, writers to the ſignet, notaries publick, and other members of the college of juſtice, within that part of her Majeſty's kingdom of Great-Britain called Scotland, ſhall be, and are hereby obliged to take and ſubſcribe the oath appointed by the act of the ſixth year of her Majeſty's reign, intitled, *an act for the better ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon and government*, before the lords of ſeſſion of the aforeſaid part of her Majeſty's kingdom, except ſuch of the ſaid perſons who have already taken the ſame: and if any of the perſons aforeſaid do, or ſhall neglect or refuſe to take and ſubſcribe the ſaid oath, as aforeſaid, ſuch perſon ſhall be *ipſo facto* adjudged incapable, and diſabled in law to have, enjoy, or exerciſe in any manner his ſaid employment or practice.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that in all time coming, no perſon or perſons ſhall be admitted to the employment of advocate, writer to the ſignet, notary publick, or any office belonging to the ſaid college of juſtice, until he or they have taken and ſubſcribed the aforeſaid oath, in manner as is above directed.

No. XIII.

The SCHISM ACT, intitled, *an Act to prevent the growth of Schiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the Churches of England and Ireland, as by Law eſtabliſhed.**

WHEREAS by an act of parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his late majeſty king *Charles* the ſecond, intitled, *an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of England*; it is amongſt other things enacted, that every ſchool-maſter keeping any publick or private ſchool, and every perſon inſtructing or teaching any youth in any houſe or private family, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, ſhould ſubſcribe, before his or their reſpective archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the dioceſe, a declaration or acknowledgment, in which, amongſt other things, was contained as follows, *viz.* I *A. B. do declare, that I will conform to the*

* 12th of Queen Anne.

liturgy

liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law eſtabliſhed; and if any ſchool-maſter or other perſon, inſtructing or teaching youth in any private houſe or family, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, ſhould inſtruct or teach any youth as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, before licence obtained from his reſpective archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the dioceſe, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, for which he ſhould pay twelve-pence only, and before ſuch ſubſcription and acknowledgement made as aforeſaid, then every ſuch ſchool-maſter and other, inſtructing and teaching, as aforeſaid, ſhould, for the firſt offence, ſuffer three months impriſonment without bail or mainprize: and for every ſecond and other ſuch offence, ſhould ſuffer three months impriſonment without bail or mainprize, and alſo forfeit to his Majeſty the ſum of five pounds. And whereas, notwithſtanding the ſaid act, ſundry papiſts, and other perſons diſſenting from the church of England, have taken upon them to inſtruct and teach youth, as tutors or ſchool-maſters, and have for ſuch purpoſe openly ſet up ſchools and ſeminaries, whereby, if due and ſpeedy remedy be not had, great danger might enſue to this church and ſtate: for the making the ſaid recited act more effectual, and preventing the danger aforeſaid, be it enacted by the queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that every perſon or perſons who ſhall, from and after the firſt day of Auguſt next enſuing, keep any publick or private ſchool or ſeminary, or teach and inſtruct any youth, as tutor or ſchool-maſter, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, before ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall have ſubſcribed ſo much of the ſaid declaration and acknowledgment as is before recited, and ſhall have had and obtained a licence from the reſpective archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the place, under his ſeal of office, (for which the party ſhall pay one ſhilling and no more, over and above the duties payable to her Majeſty for the ſame) and ſhall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an information, preſentment, or indictment, in any of her Majeſty's courts of record at Weſtminſter, or at the aſſizes, or before juſtices of oyer and terminer, ſhall and may be committed to the common gaol of ſuch county, riding, city, or town corporate, as aforeſaid, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, for the ſpace of three months, to commence from the time that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be received into the ſaid gaol.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no licence ſhall be granted by any archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary, unleſs the perſon or perſons who ſhall ſue for the ſame, ſhall produce a certificate of his or their having received the ſacrament according to the uſage of the church of England, in ſome pariſh church, within the ſpace of one year next before the grant of ſuch licence, under the hand of the miniſter

miniſter and one of the churchwardens of the ſaid pariſh, nor until ſuch perſons or perſons ſhall have taken and ſubſcribed the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and abjuration, as appointed by law, and ſhall have made and ſubſcribed the declaration againſt tranſubſtantiation, contained in the act made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond, intitled, *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants*, before the ſaid archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary; which ſaid oaths and declarations the ſaid archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary, are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter and receive; and ſuch archbiſhops, biſhops, and ordinaries, are required to file ſuch certificates, and keep an exact regiſter of the ſame, and of the taking and ſubſcribing ſuch oaths and declarations.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that any perſon who ſhall have obtained a licence, and ſubſcribed the declarations, and taken and ſubſcribed the oaths, as above appointed, and ſhall at any time after, during the time of his or their keeping any publick or private ſchool or ſeminary, or inſtructing any youth as tutor or ſchool-maſter, knowingly or willingly, reſort to, or be preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the exerciſe of religion in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, or ſhall knowingly and willingly be preſent at any meeting or aſſembly for the exerciſe of religion, although the liturgy be there uſed, where her Majeſty, (whom God long preſerve) and the elector of Brunſwick, or ſuch others as ſhall from time to time, be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, ſhall not there be prayed for in expreſs words, according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where ſuch particular offices of the liturgy are uſed, wherein there are no expreſs directions to pray for her Majeſty and the royal family, ſhall be liable to the penalties in this act, and from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any publick or private ſchool or ſeminary, or inſtructing any youth as tutor or ſchool-maſter.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon licenſed, as aforeſaid, ſhall teach any other catechiſm than the catechiſm ſet forth in the book of common prayer, the licence of ſuch perſon ſhall from thenceforth be void, and ſuch perſon ſhall be liable to the penalties of this act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the biſhop of the dioceſe, or other proper ordinary, to re-cite any perſon or perſons whatſoever, keeping ſchool or ſeminary, or teaching without licence as aforeſaid, and to proceed againſt, and puniſh ſuch perſon or perſons by eccleſiaſtical cenſure, ſubject to ſuch appeals as in caſes of ordinary juriſdiction: this act or any other law to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided always, that no perſon offending againſt this act ſhall be puniſhed twice for the ſame offence.

Provided

Provided alſo, that where any perſon ſhall be proſecuted without fraud or covin in any of the courts aforeſaid, for any offence contrary to this act, the ſame perſon ſhall not afterwards be proſecuted for the ſame offence in any of the ſaid courts, whilſt ſuch former proſecution ſhall be pending and carried on without any wilful delay; and in caſe of any ſuch after-proſecution, the perſon ſo doubly proſecuted may alledge, plead, or ſhew forth in his defence againſt the ſame, ſuch former proſecution pending, or judgment or ſentence thereupon given, the ſaid pleader firſt making oath before the judge or judges of the court, where ſuch after-proſecution ſhall be pending, and which ſaid oath he or they are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter, that the ſaid prior proſecution was not commenced or carried on by his means, or with his conſent or procurement, or by any fraud or colluſion of any other perſon to his knowledge or belief.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend, nor be conſtrued to extend, to any tutor, teaching or inſtructing youth in any college or hall, within either of the univerſities of that part of Great-Britain called England, nor to any tutor who ſhall be employed by any noblemen or noblewomen, to teach his or her own children, grand-children, or great grand-children only, in his or her family; provided ſuch tutor, ſo teaching any nobleman or noblewoman's family, do in every reſpect qualify himſelf according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from the biſhop.

Provided alſo, that the penalties in this act ſhall not extend to any foreigner, or alien, of the foreign reformed churches, allowed, or to be allowed by the Queen's Majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, in England, for inſtructing or teaching any child, or children, or any ſuch foreigner or alien only, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon who ſhall have been convicted as aforeſaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or inſtruct any youth as aforeſaid, ſhall, after ſuch conviction, conform to the church of England for the ſpace of one year, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, as aforeſaid, and receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of England, at leaſt three times in that year, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be again capable of having and uſing a licence to teach ſchool, or to inſtruct youth as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, he or they alſo performing all that is made requiſite thereunto by this act.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that every ſuch perſon ſo convicted, and afterwards conforming in manner as aforeſaid, ſhall, at the next term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to teach or inſtruct youth as aforeſaid, make oath in writing, in ſome one of her Majeſty's courts at Weſtminſter, in publick and open court, or at the next quarter-ſeſſions for that county or place where he

he ſhall reſide, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, that he hath conformed to the church of England, for the ſpace of one year before ſuch his admiſſion, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he hath received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper at leaſt three times in the year, which oath ſhall be there enrolled, and kept upon record.

Provided always, that this act ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to extend to any perſon, who, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, ſhall inſtruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetick, or any part of mathematical learning only, ſo far as ſuch mathematical learning relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and ſo as ſuch reading, writing, arithmetick, or mathematical learning, ſhall be taught in the Engliſh tongue only.

And whereas by act of parliament made in Ireland, in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of his ſaid late Majeſty king *Charles* the ſecond, intitled, *an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of Ireland*; it is enacted, concerning ſchoolmaſters, and other perſons inſtructing youth in private families, in Ireland, as in and by the above-recited act is enacted concerning ſchool-maſters and others inſtructing youth in private families, in that part of Great-Britain called England. And whereas it is reaſonable, that where the law is the ſame, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law ſhould be the ſame; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every the remedies, proviſions, and clauſes, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, ſhall extend, and be deemed, conſtrued, and adjudged to extend to Ireland, in as full and effectual manner as if Ireland had been expreſsly named and mentioned in all and every the clauſes in this act.

No. XIV.

The REPEAL, intituled, *an Act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt in theſe Kingdoms.*

WHEREAS an act of parliament * was made in the tenth year of the reign of the late queen *Anne*,† intitled, *An act for preſerving the proteſtant religion by better ſecuring the church of England*

* 5th of king Geo. I. cap. 4. † 10 Annæ, cap. 2.

as by law eſtabliſhed, and for confirming the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters, by an act [intituled, *an act for exempting their Majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws*;] *and for ſupplying the defects thereof, and for the further ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by requiring the practiſers of the law in North-Britain to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration therein mentioned.* And whereas part of the ſaid act, as alſo another act herein after mentioned, have been found to be inconvenient; be it therefore enacted by the king's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid recited act paſſed in the tenth year of the late queen *Anne*,* from the beginning thereof to theſe words; [*and it is hereby farther enacted and declared, by the authority aforeſaid, that the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters.*] and alſo one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late queen *Anne*,† [intituled, *an act to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the churches of England and Ireland as by law eſtabliſhed*] ſhall be, and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any mayor, bailiff, or other magiſtrate, in that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the iſles of Guernſey or Jerſey, ſhall knowingly or willingly reſort to, or be preſent at any publick meeting for religious worſhip, other than the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, in the gown, or other peculiar habit, or attended with the enſign or enſigns of or belonging to ſuch his office, that every ſuch mayor, bailiff, or other magiſtrate being thereof convicted by due courſe of law, ſhall be diſabled to hold ſuch office or offices, employment or employments, and ſhall be adjudged incapable to bear any publick office or employment whatſoever within that part of Great-Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey.

* 10 Annæ, cap. 2; and 12 Annæ, ſtat. 2. cap. 7.

A GENERAL

A

GENERAL INDEX

TO

Mr. NEALE's

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THE INDEX.

☞ The Letters *n.* and *ns.* ſtand for *Note* and *Notes.*

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